This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Digitized by Google

P328.2

HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY

FROM THE BEQUEST OF
JOHN AMORY LOWELL
CLASS OF 1815

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW

VOL. 237.

COMPRISING Nos. 470, 471,

PUBLISHED IN

JANUARY & APRIL, 1922.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W. 1.

NEW YORK:

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY

1922

Digitized by Google

PS18.7

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, Limited,
London and Beccles, England.

Digitized by Google

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 470

PUBLISHED IN

JANUARY, 1922

LONDON:

HN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W. 1.

NEW YORK:

ONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY

1922

Digitized by Google

GENERAL INDEX TO THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A new Index, forming Volume CCXXII., comprising the volumes from CCII. to CCXXI., of the QUARTERLY REVIEW, has been published, and is obtainable through any bookseller (Price 6/- net).

☛ The QUARTERLY REVIEW is published on or about the 15th of January, April, July, and October.

Price Thirty-two Shillings per Annum, *post free*.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, Limited,
London and Beccles, England.

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

No. 470.—JANUARY, 1922.

ART.		PAGE
1.	RECENT SHAKESPEAREAN RESEARCH. II. By C. R. Haines	1
2.	LONDON LIFE IN THE TIME OF ADDISON. By Sir James G. Frazer, F.R.S.	18
* 3.	ABYSSINIA UNDER MENELIK AND AFTER. (With Map.) By G. E. Underhill	33
4.	AUSTIN DOBSON. By Edmund Gosse	53
5.	RIVER CONTROL IN MESOPOTAMIA. (With Maps.) By Evelyn Howell, C.S.I., C.I.E.	68
6.	POLITICAL DEMONOLOGY. By Una Pope-Hennessy	85
7.	WILLIAM ERNEST HENLEY. By John Drinkwater	101
8.	MONARCHISM IN CENTRAL EUROPE	118
9.	DAVID HENDERSON. By John Buchan	126
10.	FASCISM AND ITS POLITICAL INFLUENCES IN ITALY. By Vincent Bugeja	134
11.	RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY BEFORE THE WAR. By J. W. Headlam-Morley	155
12.	THE NAVY AND THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE. By Capt. A. C. Dewar, R.N.	177
13.	OVERSEAS POLITICAL CONFEDERATION. By Percy F. Martin	188
14.	IRELAND	208

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

NOS. 468 AND 469.

No. 468.—JULY, 1921.

ART.		PAGE
1.	Australian Labour and Australian Ideals	1
2.	The Letters of William James	24
3.	Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty	42
4.	Chartism	62
5.	Travels and Discoveries	76
6.	Ships' Timber and Contraband of War	93
7.	The 'English' Poems of Maurice Hewlett	112
8.	Modern Democracies	129
9.	Lord Haldane and Relativity	147
10.	Ireland	155
11.	The War of the Mines	172
12.	The Germans in Belgium	190
13.	Plebiscites	206

No. 469.—OCTOBER, 1921.

1.	Recent Shakespearean Research.—I.	225
2.	How the 'Adoration of the Lamb' was Saved	244
3.	Tchehov and his Art	257
4.	The Air Raids on London	270
5.	Roman Life in the Time of Pliny the Younger	292
6.	The American Telephone and its Lesson	308
7.	The Origin of Hindu Serious Drama	322
8.	The Fiction Market	340
9.	New Light on Mediæval England	350
10.	A History of French Architecture	366
11.	Cardinal Manning	381
12.	Two Russian Statesmen	402
13.	The Tri-une Kingdom, Political and Economical	418

Digitized by Google

HARVARD COLLEGE
FEB 6 1922
LIBRARY

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 470.—JANUARY, 1922.

Art. 1.—RECENT SHAKESPEAREAN RESEARCH.—II.

1. *The Poems of Shakespeare.* By George Wyndham. Methuen, 1898.
2. *Shakespeare Bibliography.* By William Jaggard. Shakespeare Press, 1901.
3. *The Shakespeare Apocrypha.* By C. F. Tucker Brooke. Clarendon Press, 1908.
4. *University Studies, Nebraska, U.S.A.* Also *New Shakespeare Discoveries* in 'Harper's Magazine,' March 1910; in the 'Century Magazine,' August and September 1910. By C. W. Wallace.
5. *Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries.* By Ernest Low. Bell, 1911.
6. *Giovanni Florio.* By Madame de Chambrun. Paris: Payot, 1921.
7. *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet* (Lane, 1904); and *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets.* By Arthur Acheson. Quaritch, 1913.

TURNING now to æsthetic questions, we find that many of the difficult problems in this field are still unsolved and seem insoluble. The Sonnets, like the body of the slain Patroclus, held of one by the heel, and of another by the head and shoulders, are like to be torn in pieces by the contending factions. Zeus, in the person of Sir Sidney Lee, has given his powerful support now to one, now to another of the opposing forces. But the W. H. of the dedication, the 'Alien Pens,' the 'Better Angel,' and the 'Worser Spirit' still keep their mysterious secret. No one has yet decided whether 'Begetter' means 'procurer' or 'inspirer'; or whether W. H. stands

Digitized by Google

for William Herbert, which seems more than improbable, or for William Hall, as the word 'all' which follows might be intended to indicate, or William Hammond (as Carew Hazlitt), or William Harvey (as Mrs Stopes), or William Hughes, as indicated by the 'Hews' of Sonnet 20. If the last is a correct amplification, could he have been the son of Will. Hews, musician to Walter Devereux, father of the ill-fated Essex, who played before his master on the virginals the night before he died? 'Play,' said he, 'my song, Will Hews, and I will sing it myself.' If W. H. cannot stand for William Herbert, still less can it do duty for Henry Wriothesley, as the Southamptonites suppose. If the initials were reversed, they might with more probability refer to Henry Willobie, the author of the curious work 'Avisa, in which Shakespeare is undoubtedly alluded to. It also has been supposed by some to have a connexion with Southampton.

In this connexion valuable research work has been done by Mr Acheson in his books on the Sonnets, and on 'Willobie his Avisa' and the Davenants; as well as by the Comtesse de Chambrun in her 'Giovanni Florio,' where she brings out the intimate connexion that subsisted between Florio, Southampton, and Shakespeare, showing that much of Shakespeare's learning could have been derived from Florio.

The old and at one time favourite theory that the friend of the Sonnets was the Earl of Pembroke, and the dark lady, Mistress Fitton, Maid of Honour to the Queen, has recently been revived by Dr Creighton, who lays stress upon certain satirical verses which till lately lay hidden in the series of State Papers (Domestic).* One stanza runs:

'Parti-beard was afeared
When they ran at the herd;
The Raine dear was imbos't,
The White Doe, she was lost;
Pembroke strook her down,
And took her from the Clown.'

Here Partibeard is Sir W. Knollys, Controller of the Household, who, though married, was Mistress Fitton's

* Elizabeth, Vol. 278, No. 23.

Digitized by Google

avowed lover. She is the Doe, and the Reindeer is of course the Queen. Mary Fitton's bastard child by Pembroke was born on March 25, 1602; and the Earl, while not denying the paternity, yet 'did utterly renounce marriage.' But the identity of the player meant by the Clown is not certain. Possibly it was Kempe, who dedicated his 'Nine Days' Wonder' in somewhat familiar terms to Mistress Fitton, whom, however, he could scarcely have known very well, as he calls her Anne, which was not her name. As for the Earl, he was born in 1580, was a great frequenter of plays, averse from marriage, a writer of amorous poems, and, according to the editors of the First Folio, 'prosecuted the Author when living with much favour.'

Southampton, the second candidate for the honour of being Shakespeare's sonnet-friend, was, however, only nine years his junior. Though he too had an intrigue with a maid of honour, Elizabeth Vernon, yet his intentions were always honourable. The Queen's opposition for a long time prevented the marriage, but he finally married Bess Vernon secretly, when her condition rendered such a step, as in Shakespeare's own case, imperative. The Earl, who had a very fine character, is known to have been Shakespeare's friend and patron from the dedications of 'Venus' and 'Lucrece,' to the latter of which Sonnet 26 bears a remarkable resemblance. He even, as a trustworthy tradition tells us, gave Shakespeare, in return no doubt for his dedications, 1000*l.* to complete some purchase to which he had a mind. He was a great lover of the stage, and, soon after his release from prison (supposed to be referred to in Sonnet 107) on the accession of King James, he had the revived play of 'Love's Labour's Lost' acted at his house in Holborn before the new Queen.*

The impersonal theory of the Sonnets is now the refuge of puzzled students; and Sir Sidney Lee, after holding the other two theories successively, has now become protagonist for this view. The Sonnets, it seems, are to be looked upon as almost entirely exercises in poetical mystification, Shakespeare's contribution to a sort of sonnet-game or competition played by all the

* See Sir Walter Cope to Viscount Cranbourne in 1604.

Digitized by Google

leading poets of the time, much of the inspiration being drawn from French or Italian forerunners, while the persons addressed are purely ideal. But any one who reads the Sonnets without any bias or eye on a theory must realise that a deep personal feeling and experience runs through the majority of them. Current events—if we could only identify them—are certainly mentioned: the 'eclipse' endured by the 'mortal Moon' must refer to Elizabeth, and glance at her death or the Armada or some other notable occurrence. Shakespeare seems to have had an admiration for Essex, which he showed in 'Henry V' and in the 'Phœnix and Turtle';* and there can be little doubt that he is meant in the touching lines:

> 'The painful warrior famoused for worth,
> After a thousand victories once foiled,
> Is from the book of honour razed forth
> And all the rest forgot for which he toil'd.'

A definite allusion there must be to Chapman or another in the 'Alien pens' (78), 'A worthier pen' (79), 'Both your poets' (83), 'Proud full sail of his great verse' (86), 'That affable familiar ghost' (ibid.), 'Better spirit' (80). Then there is the time-scheme that can be traced through the main sequences; and there are references to the actual conditions of the writer's life, his travelling on horseback (27, 50), his gift of a book (77, cp. 122), and his acting: 'I have gone here and there And made myself a motley to the view, Gored mine own thoughts, sold cheap what is most dear.' (110, 111, cp. 23). Here surely Shakespeare unlocked his own heart, no less than in the poignant verses, 'When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes' (29). Did Shakespeare invent 'the woman coloured ill,' 'the worser spirit,' or merely affect to feel what it is expressed in that heart-searching Sonnet on Lust—'The expense of spirit in a waste of shame'?

William Drummond of Hawthornden, about 1614, referring to the authors he had read on the subject of love, remarks 'the last we have are Sir William

* 'Henry V,' Prol. v, 32. In 'Henry VIII' the speech of Buckingham on his way to execution is closely copied from the address of Essex on the scaffold.

Digitized by Google

Alexander and Shakespear, who have *lately* published their works.' He appears to allude to the Sonnets, but can hardly be taken to mean that the publication was authorised by Shakespeare. For one thing, the poet does not seem to have spelt his name Shake-speare (with the hyphen), as is done in Thorpe's book. The date when the Sonnets were composed is not known. They must have been mostly written between 1590 and 1600, and chiefly in the earlier years of the decade. One or two seem to be so late as 1603 or 1604. Shakespeare's sonnet period is synchronous with his earlier dramas; and parallels in 'Love's Labour's Lost,' 'Two Gentlemen,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' and other plays of that period are numerous and striking. External references are all previous to 1600; the Meres allusion in 1598, the publication of two of the Sonnets, from the end sequences, in the 'Passionate Pilgrim' (1599), and the use of the 'Fair, Kind, and True' Sonnet (105) by Breton in his 'Melancholy Humours' of 1600, as first noticed by the present writer, all point to a 16th-century date. A book called 'Amours by J. D. with certein other Sonnets by W. S.,' licensed for publication in 1600, but not brought out, may refer to Shakespearean sonnets. But there was a William Smith who produced a collection of sonnets called 'Chloris' in 1596.

Now that a satisfactory Life of Shakespeare, fully up to modern requirements, and written with skill, moderation, and common sense, has been provided for the lovers and students of Shakespeare, there remains yet one necessary thing, which would form the most suitable of all tercentenary memorials of his death. There is at present in existence no adequate edition of Shakespeare in a single handy volume. When the publishers of the Globe edition, which was excellent at that date and deserved its immense success, decided in 1900 to bring out a new edition, they were content merely to produce the old faulty book, now quite out of date, with all its glaring imperfections, in practically the same form as before. The Clarendon Press followed suit almost immediately, though their edition is undated. Its text indeed is far better than that of the 'Globe,' but in many important respects the book is quite as unsatisfactory.

Digitized by Google

For instance, it keeps the absurd order of the plays found in the first folio, and makes no attempt to eject the un-Shakespearean parts of the 'Passionate Pilgrim.'

Can no publisher be found—an editor would soon be forthcoming—to bring out an edition on the following lines? A single handy volume; the plays as far as possible in their chronological order; marginal references as in the Bible; non-Shakespearean parts of the plays in different type; 'Edward III,' 'Sir Thomas More,' and 'Two Noble Kinsmen' to be included and treated similarly; passages in Quartos not found in the Folios to be marked; concise headings to each play, giving approximate dates, sources and other necessary information; revised lists of *dramatis personæ*, with aliases inserted; modern equivalents of obsolete words at the foot of the page; 'The Passionate Pilgrim' critically revised and the non-Shakespearean items thrown out; other occasional poems, some of which, such as the two epitaphs, are certainly, and others such as the Florio sonnets, are most probably, by Shakespeare, to be inserted; all the minor poems to be in proper order; a short life, or at least a chronological table at the beginning, and a glossary at the end. An edition such as the one here sketched out, on thin light paper—the old Globe edition was excellent in this respect—would command instant acceptance and chase every rival from the field.

A canon of Shakespeare is imperatively needed. Until it is at least approximately known what parts of 'Titus Andronicus' (if any), 'Henry VI,' Parts 1, 2, 3, 'Pericles,' 'Timon,' 'Henry VIII,' and the three so-called apocryphal plays, are by Shakespeare, it will be impossible to settle the question (for instance) of his classical knowledge. Interpolated passages or scenes have also crept into 'Cymbeline' and other plays. These must be discriminated. The establishment of a true canon will not be easy, but it need not be considered impossible. 'Titus Andronicus' will undoubtedly be a bone of contention. Because the well-informed Meres mentions it, and it finds a place in the first Folio, some will not hear of its not being wholly Shakespeare's. Yet internal evidence is decisive against it. In general style, phraseology, diction, plot, and moral it is unlike his

Digitized by Google

work. Apart from this, it was probably written before 1590; and how can we attribute this play and 'Love's Labour's Lost,' the 'Comedy of Errors,' and 'Romeo and Juliet' to the same hand at about the same time? Moreover, it was acted by Lord Pembroke's players in the first instance. No doubt the tradition recorded by Ravenscroft in 1678 is correct. The play was by another hand (most probably Kyd's), and Shakespeare only shredded in a few passages, such as:

'What, hast not thou full often struck a doe,
And borne her cleanly by the keeper's nose?' (II, 1, 90).

'What stern ungentle hands
Have lopp'd and hew'd and made thy body bare
Of her two branches, those sweet ornaments,
Whose circling shadows kings have sought to sleep in
And might not gain so great a happiness?' (II, 5, 17).

With regard to 'Pericles,' all now agree that Shakespeare had a considerable hand in it, in spite of its exclusion from the Folio. The inferior parts are attributed to George Wilkins, who wrote the novel based on the play. But the famous-infamous brothel scenes, which are quite beyond the reach of Wilkins, sorely disturb the equanimity of the Shakespeare idealisers. Had Jonson or any other been the writer of the finer parts of 'Pericles,' no one would have hesitated to ascribe the brothel scenes to the author of these parts. Those who will not hear of their being by Shakespeare are obliged to introduce a third author for them alone, an expedient which stands self-condemned. Certainly Shakespeare was never, and he is not here, 'a procurer to the Lords of hell'; and his outspoken and mostly humorous grossness is far less offensive and pernicious than the corrupt and suggestive prurience of a Tourneur, a Fletcher, or a Ford. The brothel scenes in truth are so skilfully and vigorously handled, and are so similar in manner to passages in 'Measure for Measure,' that we are almost forced, on reading them, to cry, 'Aut Shakespeare aut diabolus,' possibly 'et Shakespeare et diabolus.' The play was published first in 1609, and probably written within the two previous years, as the words 'gazed on like a

Digitized by Google

comet'* may refer to Halley's comet, which appeared in 1607.

Fletcher, perhaps the most brilliant dramatist next to Shakespeare, and his coadjutor, surpassed himself in his share of 'Henry VIII,' but does not show to quite such advantage in the other joint play, 'The Two Noble Kinsmen.' The best parts of this are by a greater than he, and who but Shakespeare could be called so? Take the splendid apostrophe to Mars in the third scene of the fourth act, or these lines:

> 'By th' helm of Mars I saw them in the war,
> Like to a pair of lions smeared with prey,
> Make lines in troops aghast. I fixed my note
> Constantly on them, for they were a mark
> Worth a god's view' (I, 4, 20).

If this is not by Shakespeare, then had Fletcher learnt to write with his 'victorious pen'! Surely too, the Shakespeare touch is seen in such words as

> 'That we should things desire that do cost us
> The loss of our desire!' (V, 4, 127).

Some parts of the play, especially the vulgar and indecent love episode of the jailer's daughter, are a sort of ignoble travesty of Shakespeare's work; but in the song,

> 'Roses, their sharp spines being gone,
> Not royal in their smells alone
> But in their hue;
> Maiden pinks, of odour faint,
> Daisies smell-less yet most quaint,
> And sweet thyme true,'

we find something, if not entirely beyond Fletcher's skill in his happiest moments, yet quite worthy of Shakespeare. In the Quarto of 1634 this play is ascribed to Fletcher and Shakespeare, the order of the names being noticeable, as if Fletcher had worked up Shakespeare material and been responsible for the play.

But there are plays, for Shakespeare's joint authorship of which we have no external evidence whatever, yet seem forced to ascribe to him a share in them. Chief among these comes 'Edward III,' first published in 1596. In the first two acts the love episode between

* V, 1, 87.

Digitized by Google

the King and the Countess of Salisbury shows a splendour and opulence of thought and diction scarcely to be found but in Shakespeare's admitted work.* The incident and its dénouement are both characteristic of him. Many lines recall Shakespeare's style:

> 'And from the fragrant garden of her womb
> Your gracious self, the flower of Europe's hope,
> Derived is inheritor to France' (I, 1, 14).
>
> 'Upon the bare report and name of arms' (I, 2, 80).
>
> 'It wakened Cæsar from his Roman grave' (II, 1, 88).
>
> 'Better than beautiful thou must begin,
> Devise for fair a fairer word than fair,
> And every ornament that thou would'st praise,
> Fly it a pitch above the soar of praise' (II, 1, 84).

The style in some places reminds us of the Sonnets, one line, 'Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds' (II, 1, 451), being taken from Sonnet 94, where it seems more in place than here, and the expression 'scarlet ornaments' recalls a phrase in Sonnet 142. Compare also

> 'I kill my poor soul and my poor soul me' (II, 1, 242),

and

> 'Now in the sun it doth not lie
> With light to take light from a mortal eye;
> For here two day-stars that mine eyes would see
> More than the sun steals mine own light from me'
> (I, 2, 181).

Tennyson affirmed that he could trace Shakespeare's hand through the last three acts. These lines seem the most prominent instance:

> 'To die is all as common as to live . . .
> For from the instant we begin to live
> We do pursue and hunt the time to die:
> First bud we, then we blow, and after seed,
> Then presently we fall, and as a shade
> Follows the body, so we follow death . . .
> Since for to live is but to seek to die,
> And dying but beginning of new life' (IV, 4, 133).

* This incident is taken from Bandello in Painter's 'Palace of Pleasure,' a book which we know Shakespeare to have used.

Digitized by Google

'Sir Thomas More,' the third apocryphal play that has some claim to be regarded as partly by Shakespeare, has been reprinted three times in modern days, viz. by Dyce (1844), Hopkinson (1902), Tucker Brooke (1908), and in facsimile by Farmer (1910).* While exceptionally free from Shakespeare 'tags' or echoes of his work, yet in characterisation and sustained level of thought and diction parts at least of this play do not fall below the standard we expect to find in all that Shakespeare wrote. The date of the play is not later than 1596, and ours is a draft copy, revised and corrected by several hands. It seems just possible that the corrections and additions by one of these are in Shakespeare's own writing.† All the critics assign the first 170 lines of Act II, Sc. 4, to this hand, though other passages may also be his work. The passage alluded to is a scene where Sir Thomas More pacifies a mob of 'prentices and other rioters against the alien Lombards, who like the Germans of the present day had established themselves in a privileged position in London, and to a great extent controlled English finance and industry. The scene opens on the Jack Cade note, Lincoln being the leader:

Linc. Peace, hear me! He that will not see a red herring at a Harry groat, butter at elevenpence a pound, meal at nine shillings a bushel, and beef at four nobles a stone, list to me!

Betts. It will come to that pass, if strangers be suffered. Mark him!

Linc. Our country is a great eating country: argo, they eat more in our country than they do in their own.

Betts. By a halfpenny loaf a day, troy weight.

Then the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas More, and other Lords come on the scene, and attempts are made by various speakers to get a hearing. Finally More speaks:

More. While's they are o'er the bank of their obedience thus will they bear down all things.

Linc. Shrieve More speaks! Shall we hear Shrieve More speak?

---

* Harleian MSS., 7368.

† Dr W. W. Greg has recently pronounced against this belief, but Sir E. Maunde Thompson has still more recently championed Shakespeare's authorship.

Digitized by Google

More gradually calms the mob by his eloquence and ends with this fine speech:

'For to the King hath God his office lent
Of dread, of justice, power, and command;
Hath bid him rule and will'd you to obey;
And to add ampler majesty to this,
He hath not only lent the King his figure,
His throne and sword, but given him his own name,
Calls him a god on earth. What do you then,
Rising 'gainst him, that God himself installs,
But rise 'gainst God? . . . O desperate as you are
Wash your foul minds with tears,* and those same hands
That you, like rebels, lift against the peace,
Lift up for peace, and your unreverent knees,
Make them your feet to kneel to be forgiven!
Tell me but this: what rebel captain,
As mutinies are incident, by his name
Can still the rout? Who will obey a traitor?
Or how can well that proclamation sound
When there is no addition but a rebel
To qualify a rebel? You'll put down strangers,
Kill them, cut their throats, possess their houses,
And lead the majesty of law in liom,†
To slip him like a hound.
Linc. We'll be ruled by you, Master More, if you'll stand our friend to procure our pardon . . .'

In its restrained power, its knowledge of the humours of a mob, its reverence for authority, this passage is entirely Shakespearean. It is most interesting, moreover, to see how by deletions, corrections, and additions in the MS. the first ideas and expressions of the poet were modified *currente calamo*. Mr Tucker Brooke in his useful edition points out how, after the words 'Make them your feet,' there was in the first draft a pause. Subsequently the writer added:

'To kneel to be forgiven
Is safer wars than ever you can make,
Whose discipline is riot. Why even your wars
Cannot proceed but by obedience. What rebel captain . . .'

He then deleted the second 'wars,' substituting 'hurly'

* Cf. 'Much Ado,' IV, 1, 155. † Leash.

Digitized by Google

for it, and again for the half-line he wrote tentatively above, 'In, in to your obedience!' Not being able to complete this to his satisfaction, he finally cancelled the whole from the word 'forgiven,' and put instead 'Tell me but this.'

This whole scene is topical at the present day. It reveals the bitter feeling against the interpenetration of England by aliens in the 16th century. We have seen the same in our time. It serves to illustrate the account lately given by Mr Ian Colvin in his 'Hanseatic League' of a most ominous and instructive chapter in our history Though the style of 'Sir Thomas More' is less superficially brilliant and much more severe in cast, than we see in the splendid and masterful rhetoric of 'Edward III,' or the lyric grace and opulent eloquence of the 'Two Noble Kinsmen,' yet it is nearer the heart of the Shakespearean mystery.

A few words will suffice for the other apocryphal plays. Swinburne's advocacy of 'Arden of Faversham' has predisposed many to attribute this play to Shakespeare. Its merit might indeed justify the supposition, but a domestic tragedy, such as this is, based on an incident scarcely more than a generation old, stands outside the self-chosen range of Shakespeare's dramatic activity. Moreover, the early date (1592) of the play makes the Shakespeare authorship more than unlikely. Taking the metrical and other tests into consideration—and in spite of American and native scoffers they cannot be ignored—it is impossible to suppose that a play, exhibiting the dramatic manner and versification of 'Arden,' could have been composed contemporaneously with 'Love's Labour's Lost' and 'Romeo and Juliet.' The facts, indeed, on which the play is based are from Holinshed, to whom Shakespeare often had recourse. Arden, too, is a name which might have caught his attention; and this Arden had property in Warwickshire. It has been generally admitted, however, since Mr Crawford's monograph on the play, that the author was Kyd, who in virtue of this performance must take a high place among contemporary dramatists. But though Shakespeare did not write the play, he must have been influenced by it, more than we should have expected, for we seem to see his style in

Digitized by Google

'Intreat her fair; sweet words are fittest engines
To raze the flint walls of a woman's breast' (I, 1, 46).

'It is not love that loves to anger love' (III, 4, 58).

'What pity-moving words, what deep-fetcht sighs,
What grievous groans, what overlading woes
Accompanies this gentle gentleman!
Now will he shake his care-oppressed head,
Now fix his sad eyes on the sullen earth,*
Ashamed to gaze upon the open world;
Now will he cast his eyes up towards the heavens
Looking that ways for redress of wrong,
Sometime he seeketh to beguile his grief,
And tells a story with his careful tongue;
Then comes his wife's dishonour in his thoughts
And in the middle cutteth off his tale,
Pouring fresh sorrow on his weary limbs.
So woe-begone, so inly charg'd with woe
Was never any liv'd and bare it so' (III, 1, 41).

The dream of Arden (III, 3, especially line 30) strongly recalls Clarence's dream;† and there are some Shakespearean phrases such as 'killed my heart,' found in 'The Contention,' 'Edward IV,' and 'Henry V'; ''tis but early days'; 'taunting letter'; 'clean out of her books'; 'pricked-ear'd cur'; 'raven for a dove'; while the pun, bite . . . bitterly, appears in 'As you like it.'‡

The 'Yorkshire Tragedy,' which is on a theme similar to that of 'Arden,' has been shown by the late Mr Dobell and others to be by Wilkins. Though ascribed to Shakespeare in the Quarto of 1608, it hardly contains ten lines which he could have written: such as are

'That Heaven should say we must not sin, and yet made woman!' (Sc. IV, 65).

'I see how Ruin with a palsy hand
Begins to shake the ancient seat to dust' (Sc. III, 99).

'That mortgage sits like a snaffle on my inheritance, and makes me chaw upon iron' (Sc. II, 50).

'Unkindness strikes a deeper wound than steel' (Sc. X, 13).

'O beggary, beggary, to what base uses dost thou put a man!' (Sc. II, 55).

---

* Cf. 'Sonnets,' 29, and '2 Henry VI,' I, 2, 5.

† 'Richard III,' I, 4, 63. ‡ II, 7, 185.

Digitized by Google

In 'Locrine' (1595), which is almost certainly by Greene, in 'Mucedorus' (1598), a most successful but wretched play, in 'Sir John Oldcastle' (1600) (now known to be by Munday, Drayton, Wilson, and Hathaway *), which was written as a protest against the original use of Oldcastle's name for Falstaff's, and in 'Lord Cromwell' (1602), not a word of Shakespeare is to be found, though the first, second, and fourth were fathered on Shakespeare when published. 'The London Prodigal'† (1605), a Jonsonian play of 'humours,' has more merit, but, except for some Shakespearean tags, has no pretension to the name on its title-page. It contains not a line of real poetry. 'The Puritan Widow' (1607), of similar type, has a Shakespearean phrase or two and a reference to the ghost in Macbeth. The absurd and tedious play 'Fair Em' (1590), quoted by Greene twice in his 'Farewell to Folly,' is too early for Shakespeare, as well as too poor. The last two plays of the Apocrypha to be considered, 'The Merry Devil of Edmonton' (1604) and the 'Birth of Merlin' (of unknown date), stand on a different footing. 'The Merry Devil,' an excellent piece of work and full of humour, on the chivalry of love and friendship, must be pronounced not wholly unworthy of the high parentage ascribed to it. The best scene, the first of Act IV, describing a hunt in Enfield Chase, is the most like Shakespeare's work, but there are fine passages elsewhere, e.g.

> 'The silent sable-visaged night
> Casts her black curtain over all the world'
> (Prologue 24),

and,

> 'Oh that this soul, that cost so great a price
> As the dear precious blood of her Redeemer,
> Inspir'd with knowledge, should by that alone
> Which makes a man so unto the Powers
> Even lead him down into the depth of hell,
> When men in their own pride strive to know more
> Than man should know!' (Induction 42).

Kirkman, the first publisher of the 'Birth of Merlin' in 1662 attributed it, possibly from a lost quarto, to

* Yet in this play Schlegel saw Shakespeare's best and maturest work!

† Madame de Chambrun rather rashly pronounces in favour of the genuineness of this apocryphal play.

Digitized by Google

Shakespeare and Rowley. Mr Tucker Brooke summarily disposes of the claims of this play with these words:

'The disjointed nature of the plot, moreover, the foolish and immature morality of the Modestia scenes, and the repeated appeals to the cheap make-shifts of sorcery and divination stamp it as distinctly unshakespearean.'

Quite so; but Rowley may be saddled with all this and more, and yet Shakespeare's hand, as in 'Titus Andronicus,' may show itself in a few touches. Madden, in his admirable 'Diary of Master William Silence,' quotes some passages relating to sport; and there are also lines which have a touch of Shakespeare, like

'A wife is a dish soon cloys;
What's mine in her speaks yours' (I, 1, 38–45).

'I see he will marry her, he speaks so like a husband'
(II, 1, 141).

'Till the great Sessions come, when death the crier
Will surely summons us and all t' appear
To plead us guilty and our bail to clear' (III, 2, 43).

'Bright Victory herself fights on our part,
And buckled in a golden beaver rides
Triumphantly before us' (IV, 4, 1).

There is much wit too in the clown of the play. One thing is certain—the doubtful plays of Shakespeare merit more attention than they have hitherto received. But, apart from these, can we trace any other plays likely to be Shakespeare's, which have not come down to us? Vulcan has undoubtedly been a deity inimical not only to Jonson but to his greater contemporary. The fire at the Globe Theatre on June 29, 1613, when 'Henry VIII,' under the name 'All is True,' was being acted, may or may not have destroyed some playhouse copies.* On July 9, in the following year, there was a disastrous fire at Stratford. In 1620, Ben Jonson's house, with its library—and he must have had letters and papers of Shakespeare's—was burnt. The Fire of London must have consumed innumerable MSS. and papers; and the Cottonian library, collected in Shakespeare's lifetime, was devastated by fire in 1731. Two years later

* Sir Henry Wotton says nothing of this sort perished.

Digitized by Google

Theobald refers to a tradition lately recorded in print, that two large chests of loose papers and MSS. relating to Shakespeare, being in the hands of an ignorant baker of Warwick, who married one of the descendants of the Shakespeare family, were carelessly scattered about as garret litter and lumber, to the particular knowledge of the late Sir William Bishop, till they were all consumed in the general fire and destruction of the town (in 1694).

Samuel Ireland, a more suspicious witness, tells a similar tale of MSS. at Clopton House about 1805, burnt by a tenant named Williams, who, on inquiry for such relics being made, said, 'I wish you had arrived sooner; it isn't a fortnight since I destroyed several baskets full of letters and papers to clear a small chamber for some partridges I want to bring up; and as for Shakespeare, there were many bundles with his name wrote on them. Why, it was in this very fire-place I made a roaring bonfire of them.' His wife being called in told the same tale, adding, 'There now! I told you not to burn them, as they might be of consequence.' But we naturally ask why these papers were left in the hands of a tenant, and how he had a right to make away with them? Nor could they well have escaped the notice of Malone, Wheler, and other searchers.

However, we do know that by the gross carelessness of an antiquary, John Warburton (1683–1759), who unfortunately had a hobby for collecting MS. copies of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, some priceless MSS. were allowed to be burnt about 1730 by his still more careless and ignorant cook. The owner of these treasures seems to have left not even any account of them beyond a bare list. He appears to have had in MS. besides the 'Maiden's Holiday' by Marlowe and Day, a drama by Greene, a tragedy of Chapman's, several plays by Rowley, many by Massinger, one or two anonymous, and three Shakespeare plays, viz. one unnamed, 'Duke Humphrey' and 'Henry I,' which is attributed to him in conjunction with Robert Davenport.

There is still another play attributed to Shakespeare conjointly with Fletcher. It was twice produced at Court in 1613, just when we know that the same two poets collaborated on 'Henry VIII.' Moseley in 1653 obtained a licence for its publication. No doubt the

Digitized by Google

disturbed state of the country during the Civil War, and the subsequent ascendency of the Puritans, lost us this and other plays. The plot of the play was taken from the 'Cardenio' in Don Quixote, first introduced to English readers by Shelton in 1612. Theobald in 1727 claimed, but falsely, to have published this play under the title of 'The Distrest Lovers,' or 'The Double Falsehood.' It is on the same subject, but bears no trace of Shakespeare's or Fletcher's hand. Theobald affirmed that he had three MS. copies of it, one more than sixty years old, formerly belonging to Betterton the actor, and in the handwriting of Downes the stage prompter. A play still exists in a German version under the title of 'Cardenio und Celinde.' *

Manuscript copies of Shakespeare's existing plays are very rare. Joseph Strutt the antiquary, who died in 1803, had at one time in his possession a MS. copy of 'Timon' dated 1600; but this appears to be the one which is now in the South Kensington Museum, and is not Shakespeare's play of the same name. A copy of the two parts of 'Henry IV,' written about 1610 by Sir Edward Dering of Surrenden in Kent, came to light in 1844; and a late MS. of the 'Merry Wives' was purchased by Halliwell-Phillipps from the poet Procter in 1842. It dates from about 1660. Both have important variations from the received text, and the former was apparently from a playhouse copy.

A little note-book of Old English Poetry, dated between 1585 and 1590, with the autograph of Anne Cornwalys, contains the verses, 'When as thine eye,' which stand nineteenth in the 'Passionate Pilgrim.' This is the earliest MS. of any portion (if this be one) of Shakespeare's works now extant. There is said also to be in existence a MS. contemporary copy of the music to the 'Willow, willow' song in 'Othello.' All these, except the first and the last mentioned, were in the unique collection at Warwick Castle. But this, like too many invaluable Shakespeareana, is now practically beyond our reach.

C. R. HAINES.

* See Carew Hazlitt, p. 126. But it has no Shakespearean characteristics whatever.

Digitized by Google

Art. 2.—LONDON LIFE IN THE TIME OF ADDISON.

JOSEPH ADDISON was born on May 1, 1672, and died on June 17, 1719. Thus he lived through the last thirteen years of Charles the Second, the whole of the reigns of James the Second, William the Third, and Anne, and the first five years of George the First. But his memory is chiefly associated with the age of Queen Anne, because that period coincided with the maturity of his genius and witnessed the production of the writings on which his fame securely rests. These writings comprise above all the papers contributed by him to the 'Tatler' and the 'Spectator,' which ran successively, with breaks of about twenty months, from April 12, 1709, to Dec. 20, 1714.

While the whole of the 'Tatler' and the greater part of the 'Spectator' were appearing, the war with France was still dragging out its weary length to a somewhat indecisive and inglorious close; and Addison makes frequent references to it. He says that news of the war were cried through London with the same precipitation as a fire; that a bloody battle alarmed the town from one end to another in an instant; and that every motion of the French was published in so great a hurry that you might think the enemy were at the gates. News of a great victory were proclaimed to the whole city by the roar of guns from the Tower. In one of his papers Addison professes to have been appropriately wakened from a dream of Fame by the noise of the cannon fired for the taking of Mons. As the ports of France were closed to English traffic during the war, news of military operations in Flanders and Germany reached England only by the mail from Holland; hence the conspicuous place which the Dutch mail takes in the periodical literature of that age. And as the packet-boat came from the east, and it was long before the invention of steamers, the mail could not arrive so long as the wind sat in the west; accordingly we read that a westerly wind kept the whole town in suspense.

The places where, in Addison's time, people met to discuss the news were the clubs and especially the coffee-houses. Never was the drinking of coffee more fashionable than in his day. The custom was then of comparatively recent origin. When John Evelyn was a

Digitized by Google

fellow-commoner of Balliol College, Oxford, where he was admitted on May 10, 1637, he saw coffee drunk for the first time by a certain Greek named Nathaniel Conopios, who had been sent on a mission from Greece by Cyril, the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Many coffee-houses are mentioned in the 'Tatler' and the 'Spectator.' They differed not only in situation but in the class of persons who frequented them, some being the favourite haunts of politicians, others of authors, others of men of fashion, and so forth. The most famous of all was Will's, which took its name from Will Urwin, who kept it. It was the corner house on the north side of Russell Street, at the end of Bow Street, in Covent Garden. The coffee-house owed its reputation to Dryden, who frequented it habitually, gathering the wits of London about him and holding forth on literary topics in his later years with the authority of an acknowledged master. In Addison's day Will's was still pre-eminently the resort of authors. When false news of the death of Louis XIV arrived in London and set all the coffee-house politicians agog, Addison professes to have called in at Will's and to have found that the discourse of the critics had wandered from the death of the French king to those of Monsieur Boileau, Monsieur Racine, and Monsieur Corneille, and several other poets whom they regretted as persons who, if only they had been alive, would have obliged the world with very noble elegies on the death of so great a prince and so eminent a patron of learning.

The coffee-house most frequented by politicians in those days seems to have been the St James's. It was the last house but one on the south-west corner of St James's Street, where it stood down to 1806. When the rumour of the French king's death was afloat, and the 'Spectator' desired to ascertain the truth of it, he began, he says, as near the fountain-head as possible by looking in at the St James's, where he found the whole outer room in a buzz of politics. The speculations were very indifferent towards the door, but improved in quality as you approached the steam of the coffee-pot in the inner room, where he heard the whole Spanish monarchy disposed of, and all the line of the Bourbons provided for in less than a quarter of an hour. Pursuing

Digitized by Google

his inquiries towards the city he came to Jenny Man's coffee-house, which appears to have been situated somewhere between St James's Street and Charing Cross. There he saw a brisk young fellow, who cocked his hat on a friend and addressed him as follows: 'Well, Jack, the old prig is dead at last. Sharp's the word. Now or never, boy! Up to the walls of Paris directly'—with other deep reflexions of the same nature.

By the time that the Spectator, still following up the scent, had penetrated into the heart of the city, he discovered that the views of coffee-house politicians were to some extent coloured by their professional occupations. In Fish Street, where the coffee-houses seem to have chiefly depended on the patronage of fishmongers, he heard a leading politician discoursing on the plentiful supply of mackerel which might be expected to flow as a natural consequence from the French king's death; since English fishermen would not have to fear the raids of French privateers on their boats and nets. The orator then considered the death of Louis XIV in its bearing on the catch of pilchards, and by his remarks on that subject infused a general joy into the whole audience.

Proceeding still eastward the Spectator came to Cheapside, where he heard a haberdasher haranguing a circle of admirers in a coffee-house of which he was the most shining ornament. The speaker called several of his hearers to witness that he had given up the king of France for dead more than a week ago, indeed that the thing was so certain that it was impossible it could be otherwise. He was in the act of deducing the political lessons to be drawn from the monarch's decease, when his speech was interrupted, and his reputation as a political oracle was dashed to the ground, by the arrival of a gentleman from Garraway's, who informed the audience that, according to the latest letters from France, the French king was in good health and had gone out hunting the very morning the post came away. On hearing this intelligence the crestfallen haberdasher stole his hat from the peg beside him and retired to his shop in great confusion.

Next to the coffee-houses, if not on an equality with them, as places of popular resort in the reign of Queen Anne, were the clubs. Many clubs are described or

Digitized by Google

alluded to in the pages of the 'Tatler' and 'Spectator,' but only some of these were real, while others, to all appearance, were purely imaginary. Among the real clubs mentioned by Addison are the Kit-Cat and the October. The Kit-Cat Club met at a famous mutton-pie house in Shire Lane, by Temple Bar. It took its name, not, as might naturally be supposed, from the contents of the pies, but from a pastry-cook named Christopher Katt, who kept the house; and the pies were called Kit-cats after him, and not after the noble animals which were baked in them. In summer the club sometimes met at the Upper Flask on Hampstead Heath. The principles of the club were staunch Whig. At it the great Whig chiefs, such as Somers and Halifax, met the foremost Whig writers, such as Congreve, Addison, Garth, and Steele. Pope and Gay sometimes visited the club, and on one occasion drank the health of Swift, who had set up a rival club called the Society of Brothers as an antidote to the poisonous Whig principles of the Kit-Cat. But the regular Tory rival of the Kit-Cat was the October Club, which met at the Bell Tavern in King Street, Westminster, and drank confusion to the Whigs in October ale, which gave its name to the club.

Among the clubs mentioned by Addison, which are hardly less illustrative of the manners of the age because their historical existence is more than doubtful, we may note the Club of Duellists, which, he says, was founded in the reign of King Charles the Second. None might be admitted to the club who had not fought his man. The president was said to have killed half-a-dozen in single combat; and as for the other members, they took their seats according to the number of their slain. There was likewise a side-table for such as had only drawn blood and shown a laudable ambition to qualify themselves for sitting among the homicides at the principal table. This club, consisting only of men of honour, came to an untimely end, most of the members being put to the sword, or hanged, soon after its institution.

Addison has also commemorated a remarkable club of widows, though we cannot be sure that all the particulars which he gives of it are strictly historical. The club consisted of nine experienced dames who met once a week round a large oval table. The president had

Digitized by Google

disposed of six husbands and was just about to grapple with a seventh. Another had married within a fortnight of the death of her last husband but one; her weeds had served her thrice, and were still as good as new. A third member had been a widow at eighteen, and had since buried a second husband and two coachmen. On the first institution of the club it was resolved that the members should give pictures of their deceased husbands to the club-room; but two of them bringing in their dead at full length, they covered all the walls; upon which the rule was amended so as to run, that each widow should give her own portrait set round with her husbands in miniature. The conversation of the ladies at the club turned largely on the question of how to manage a husband. Among the first principles, on which they were unanimously agreed, was not to give him his head at first, and never to be thoroughly convinced of his affection till he had made over to her all his goods; after which the sooner he went to his long home, the better for her, and perhaps for him.

The principal theatres of London in Addison's time were the Haymarket and Drury Lane; Covent Garden was not built till some years after his death. The Haymarket was designed and opened by Vanbrugh in 1705; but at first it was almost a complete failure, partly, it would seem, because it was too distant from the city for the ordinary playgoers, but still more because the convenience of the building for the representation of plays was sacrificed to the magnificence of the architecture. The huge columns, gilded cornices, and immoderately high roof struck the spectators with surprise and wonder, but the voices of the actors were so lost in the void overhead that scarcely one word in ten could be distinctly heard, while the rest was drowned in a sort of confused murmur, like the hum of voices rolling and reverberating along the vaults in the long-drawn aisles of a cathedral. But, if the stately building was ill-fitted for speech, it was much better adapted for music; the swelling blast of a trumpet and the high notes of a singer lingered lovingly in the hollows of that lofty roof, and struck home to the hearts of the rapt listeners with a power and a sweetness which they could hardly have attained in a less ample structure. Hence, when

Digitized by Google

the Italian opera was introduced into England in the reign of Queen Anne, it found its natural home in the Haymarket; and the foreign songs and foreign music saved the theatre from the utter ruin with which it had been threatened by the failure of the English pieces.

It was at the Haymarket that Handel, then a stranger lately arrived in England, produced his opera of 'Rinaldo' in February 1711. It was highly successful, and Addison bore unwilling witness to its popularity. He himself, apparently, could see nothing in it to admire, but much to ridicule. The only design of an opera, he says, 'is to gratify the senses, and keep up an indolent attention in the audience.' To do the critic justice, he seems to have conformed his own behaviour very closely to the design of the performance, as he conceived it. For any reference he makes to the music, he might have been deaf. While the rest of the audience sat entranced by the melting airs of *Cara sposa* and *Lascia ch'io pianga*, Addison was coolly sneering at the costumes and the scenery, and was thinking, as he says, how the wits of King Charles's time—those exquisite judges of scenic propriety—would have laughed to see Nicolini exposed to a tempest in robes of ermine and sailing in an open boat upon a sea of pasteboard. And what a field for raillery they would have found in painted dragons spitting wildfire, enchanted chariots drawn by Flanders mares, and real cascades in artificial landscapes! From all this agreeable raillery we may infer that the melodies of the great musician spoke to Addison with the accents of a language which he did not understand; he heard with his ears the sounds of the voices and the violins, but the soul of the music escaped him.

He was particularly sarcastic on stage thunder. He says in one place that last winter he had been at the first rehearsal of the new thunder, which was much more deep and sonorous than any that had been heard before. The lightning flashed more briskly than ever, and the clouds were better furbelowed and more voluminous. He was told that the theatre was provided with above a dozen showers of snow consisting of the plays of many unsuccessful poets cut and shredded for the purpose. These were to fall on the head of King Lear at his next appearance on the stage. As for the noise of drums,

Digitized by Google

trumpets, and huzzas, he says it was so loud that, when a battle was raging in the Haymarket theatre, the sound of it might be heard as far as Charing Cross. But while he ridiculed the ordinary devices for lending dignity to tragedy, such as the sweeping trains of stage queens and the towering plumes of stage heroes, he was not insensible to the effect of some artifices in moving the awe or pity of the spectators. He tells us that, in the parting scene between Jaffier and Belvidera in Otway's tragedy of 'Venice Preserved,' the sound of the passing bell, tolling for the execution of Jaffier's friend Pierre, then about to be broken on the wheel, caused the hearts of the whole audience to quake and made a deeper impression on the mind than mere words could convey.

Among the actors of his time Addison mentions Betterton, Bullock, and Norris. Of these, Betterton played Macbeth, while Bullock, Norris, and another actor named Bowen took the part of the witches in the tragedy. However, Bullock and Norris appeared also in lighter pieces; Bullock in a short coat and Norris in a long one sufficed to raise a laugh in the audience. But Bullock had a rival in a comic actor named Penkethman. The comparative merits of the two were appraised by Steele in the 'Tatler.' Mr Bullock, he says, had the more agreeable squall, and Mr Penkethman the more graceful shrug. Penkethman devoured a cold chick with great applause; Bullock's talent lay chiefly in asparagus. Penkethman was very dexterous at conveying himself under a table; Bullock was no less active at jumping over a stick. Mr Penkethman had a great deal of money; but Mr Bullock was the taller man.

The same graceful and tender wit falls into a graver strain when he speaks of the death of Betterton the tragedian, who had been his friend. Having received notice that the famous actor was to be interred that evening in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, Steele resolved to walk thither and see the last offices paid to a man whom he had always very much admired, and from whose acting he had received stronger impressions of what is great and noble than from the arguments of the profoundest philosophers or the descriptions of the most charming poets. He could hardly conceive that Roscius himself or any actor of antiquity could ever

Digitized by Google

have surpassed the acting of Betterton in the parts which he had played on the English stage. The wonderful agony which he appeared in, when he examined the circumstances of the handkerchief in 'Othello,' the mixture of love and tenderness that intruded on his mind as he listened to the innocent answers of Desdemona, betrayed in his gestures such a variety and vicissitude of passions as would warn any man to keep watch over his own heart, lest he should stab it with that worst of daggers, jealousy. The charming passage in the same tragedy, where Othello tells how he won the love of Desdemona, was delivered by Betterton with so moving and graceful an energy, that, walking there in the cloisters, Steele thought of him with the same concern as if he waited for the funeral of one who had done in real life all that he had seen Betterton do in the shadowy representation of the stage. The gloom of the place and the faint lights glimmering through the evening shadows deepened the feeling of sadness which oppressed him. He began to sorrow that Brutus and Cassius had ever quarrelled; that Hotspur's gallantry was so hapless; and that all the mirth and good humour of Falstaff could not exempt him from the grave. Nay, habituated as he was to look upon the distinctions between men as merely scenical, he reflected on the emptiness of all human greatness, and could not but regret that the sacred heads which mouldered in that little parcel of earth, to which the mortal remains of his old friend were so soon to be consigned, were returned to dust as well as he, and that there is no difference in the grave between the real and the imaginary monarch.

In the theatre Addison kept a keen eye on the audience as well as on the stage; and from his pages we can gather many details as to the appearance and behaviour of the spectators. We learn that in those days some members of an audience used to express their disapprobation of bad plays and bad players by means of a cat-call. This was a simple musical instrument designed to imitate those melodious sounds with which, in neighbourhoods frequented by cats, the silence of night is often broken, and which are commonly known as caterwauling. Played in concert by a number of performers dispersed throughout the theatre, the instrument

Digitized by Google

exerted a powerful effect upon the actors; it struck a damp into generals, and frighted heroes off the stage; at the first sound of it a crowned head had been seen to tremble, and a princess to fall into fits. When Beaumont and Fletcher's play, 'The Humorous Lieutenant,' was revived on the stage in Addison's time, it was received with such a powerful chorus of caterwauls as effectually stopped the mirthful sallies of the lieutenant.

At the opera a cluster of ladies in gay hoods sometimes presented as pleasing a spectacle as any on the stage, and diverted the eyes of the audience from the performers. One evening Addison, seated in the back of a box, noticed such a bevy and compared it to a bed of tulips, the hoods varying in colour from blue to yellow and philomot and pink and pale green. By the unspeakable satisfaction which appeared on the faces of the wearers it was easy to see that their thoughts were more taken up with their pretty hoods than with the singers on the stage. Another time, sitting at an opera in the Haymarket theatre, he observed two parties of very fine women, who had placed themselves in opposite boxes and seemed drawn up in a kind of battle-array one against another. Those on the right were Whigs and those on the left were Tories; and, as the badges of their respective parties, they had disposed the fashionable black patches of the day on different parts of their faces. The intermediate boxes were occupied by ladies whose principles and patches were midway between these extremes, and who seemed to sit there, strangely enough, for no other purpose but to see the opera. In order to ascertain the state of political opinion among the ladies, Addison had the curiosity to count the patches on both sides, and he found that the Tories had it by about twenty; but the balance of opinion was turned the next morning at the puppet-show, where all the ladies were spotted in the Whig manner.

The taste for snuff-taking would seem to have been equally diffused among both sexes in the age of Queen Anne. Men and women alike carried snuff-boxes adorned with pictures on the lids. At the time when the infamous impostor and perjured scoundrel, Titus Oates, was in all his glory, posing as an idol of fashionable ladies, a saviour of the State, and a pillar of the Protestant faith, an

Digitized by Google

acquaintance of Will Honeycomb's exhibited a portrait of the so-called doctor on the lid of her snuff-box. And as a singular proof of the extent to which the habit of snuff-taking was carried in the other sex, it may be mentioned that, when the head of a beau was dissected after death, the cavities of the skull, which in ordinary people are filled with brains, were discovered to be stuffed with Spanish snuff. Yet in outward shape and appearance the beau had not differed from other men; he ate and drank like other people, dressed well, talked loud, laughed frequently, and on several occasions acquitted himself tolerably at a ball; some ladies even took him for a wit. He was cut off in the flower of his age by the blow of a paring shovel, having been surprised by an eminent citizen as he was tendering some civilities to his wife.

This unfortunate accident probably prevented the beau from having the pleasure of meeting the lady's husband in the fields at the back of Montague House, to which gentlemen frequently retired for the settlement of any little differences which might have arisen between them, the seclusion of the spot being eminently favourable to the calm consideration of the points in dispute. Even on their way to the fields some of the disputants thought better of it and came to an amicable arrangement to be both of them arrested by the police, which saved a needless expenditure of gunpowder and a possible effusion of blood. But it was not always so, nor did the meetings always take place in the fields at the back of Montague House. On Nov. 15, 1712, while the 'Spectator' was being read at many breakfast tables in London, Lord Mohun and the Duke of Hamilton met and fought in Hyde Park at seven o'clock in the morning. Lord Mohun was killed on the spot, and the duke was mortally wounded. They tried to help him to the cake-house by the ring in the park, but he died on the grass before he could reach the house.

In the reign of Queen Anne the streets of London must have presented a much more picturesque aspect than at the present day; for they were lined on both sides by an endless succession of gay sign-boards, which exhibited an almost infinite variety of Blue Boars, Black Swans, and Red Lions, not to mention Flying Pigs, Hogs

Digitized by Google

in Armour, and many other creatures more extraordinary than any in the deserts of Africa; while the exuberant fancy of the sign painter ran riot in combinations like the Cat and the Fiddle, the Fox and the Goose, the Dog and the Gridiron, the Lamb and the Dolphin, the Bell and the Neat's Tongue, the Three Nuns and the Hare, the Bible and Three Crowns. The reason for this profusion of strange devices was that in those days the houses in the streets were not numbered; hence it was necessary to hang out sign-boards for the guidance of passengers, if they were to find the places they wished to go to. Even with this clue it was often very difficult to discover the shop, tavern, or house of which you were in search; for the signs were frequently so badly painted that it would have puzzled a naturalist to say whether the animal at which he gazed was intended to represent a boar or a buffalo, a cat or a crocodile, a mouse or an elephant; and to make matters worse, their names were often misspelled. Many a man, we are told, lost his dinner through not being able to find his way to the tavern to which he had been directed. A cousin of Steele's, a Bachelor of Queen's College, who was to have dined at the sign of the Bear in Barbican, wandered a whole day through the mistake of a letter in the sign-board, which bore inscribed on it, 'This is the Beer,' instead of 'This is the Bear.' He was only set right at last by inquiring of a fellow who could not read, but who was well acquainted with the tavern in question because he had often been drunk there. When Steele in his boyhood attended the Merchant Taylors' School, he frequently stopped on the way to read the inscriptions on the sign-boards and was afterwards thrashed by his schoolmaster for his pains, because he spelled the words according to the orthography, or rather the cacography, of the sign-boards instead of the books. Some people adapted the sign of their house to the sound of their name or the nature of their occupation. Thus Mrs Salmon, who kept a wax-work in Fleet Street, had for her sign a golden salmon; and a French tavern-keeper near Charing Cross delicately hinted at the quality of the liquor which he served to his guests by a punch-bowl with a couple of angels hovering over it and squeezing a lemon into it.

Digitized by Google

Not only the sights but the sounds of the London streets were very different in Addison's day from what they are now. At night the sleepers were roused from their slumbers by the thump of the watchman on the door, and listened drowsily to the drone of his voice proclaiming the hour, and to the tinkle of his bell, as they receded together down the street. And by day there was nothing which more astonished a foreigner and frighted a country squire than the cries of London. When Sir Roger de Coverley quitted the silence of his park and the stillness of the green lanes and meadows of Worcestershire for the busy thoroughfares of London, he used to declare that he could not get the street cries out of his head, or go to sleep for them, the first week that he was in town. On the contrary, Will Honeycomb preferred them to the song of the lark and the warbling of the nightingale, and listened to them with more pleasure than to all the music of the hedges and groves.

The cries of London in those days fell into two classes, the vocal and instrumental. The instrumental included the twanking of a brass kettle or a frying-pan, with which any man was free to disturb a whole street and to drive the inhabitants to the verge of distraction for a whole hour together. The sow-gelder's horn had something musical in it, but it was seldom heard within the Liberties, the animals on which the musician operated not being common objects of the streets. But the vocal cries were far more numerous and varied. The sale of milk was announced in sounds so shrill that they set the teeth of sensitive people on edge. The chimney-sweeper commanded a diapason of much richer compass, his notes sometimes rising into the sharpest treble and sometimes sinking into the deepest bass. The same observation applied to the retailers of small coal, not to mention broken glass or brick dust. The cooper swelled his last note with a hollow voice that was not without its harmony; and it was impossible not to be affected with a most agreeable melancholy on listening to the sad and solemn air with which the public were very often asked, if they had any chairs to mend. The time of the year which is proper for the pickling of dill and cucumber was celebrated by strains which ravished the soul with an uncommon sweetness; but

Digitized by Google

alas! like the song of the nightingale, they were only heard for two months out of twelve.

It is true that the words of the cries were often pronounced so indistinctly that it was not possible to distinguish them, nor could a stranger guess the nature of the wares which the songsters vended; insomuch that a country boy has been seen to run out to buy apples from a bellows-mender and ginger-bread from a grinder of knives and scissors. And even when the words of a cry could be clearly heard, they sometimes furnished no clue to the profession of the crier. Who, for example, could know that 'Work if I had it' was the signification of a corn-cutter? However, in the reign of Queen Anne, as in our own time, there were many people who had no soul for the melody of street cries; who refused to listen to the plaintive strains of the sow-gelder's horn; who turned a deaf ear to the voice of the corn-cutter; and in whose savage breast the musical request for chairs to mend awakened no response. We hear of such an one who paid a card-match-maker never to come into his street again. But what was the consequence? Why, the whole tribe of card-match-makers passed by his door the very next morning, in hopes of being bought off after the same manner.

More pleasing to many ears than the street cries was the chime of the church bells, which might be heard ringing to prayers from morning to night in some part of the city or another. When Addison's friend, the Tory fox-hunter, came to town, obsessed with a fear of stumbling on meeting-houses and dissenters at every street corner, he was much reassured in his mind by listening to the music of the bells from many steeples; and his satisfaction was increased when he looked in at St Paul's in the middle of sermon-time and saw the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and City Sword all sitting in the congregation, and not more than two of them fast asleep.

In Addison's time the gay world drove in Hyde Park, sometimes with six horses to a carriage. Military reviews were also held there; we hear of a lady who fell in love with the Duke of Monmouth, when she saw him, in all the splendour of scarlet and gold, at the head of his troop of Guards in the park. Kensington Palace had been built and Kensington Gardens laid out by William

Digitized by Google

the Third. Addison speaks with admiration of the upper gardens at Kensington, which, from being merely a gravel-pit, had been wrought by the gardener's art into a beautiful hollow, planted with shrubs and trees that rose into the semblance of a circular mount.

Among Addison's favourite haunts we may perhaps reckon Gray's Inn walks and the garden of Lincoln's Inn. For he lays the scene of one of the Spectator's talks with Sir Roger de Coverley in the verdure and seclusion of Gray's Inn walks, which to this day remain a sort of green oasis in the bricky wilderness of London. There on the terrace, waiting for the Spectator, the old knight hemmed with great vigour to clear his pipes, as he said, in the good air of the place; and there he discoursed with his friend on country matters, on the last sermon of his domestic chaplain, on the tobacco-stoppers which Will Wimble had been busy turning all the winter, on the death of the witch, Moll White, on the open house he had kept for his tenants in the hall last Christmas, and other topics of equal interest and importance. In another paper Addison tells us that by the favour of the benchers he was allowed to walk by himself in the garden of Lincoln's Inn; and he describes how, pacing there alone on a winter evening, he was overtaken by the dusk and drawn into an agreeable contemplation by the sight of the starry heaven, where in the clear air of a freezing night every constellation shone with a brilliance such as he had never witnessed before.

But there was no place in the town which Addison so much loved to frequent as the Royal Exchange. It gave him a secret satisfaction and in some measure gratified his vanity, as he was an Englishman, to see so rich an assembly of fellow-countrymen and foreigners consulting together upon the private business of mankind and making London a kind of emporium for the whole earth. Here he was pleased to hear disputes adjusted between an alderman and a native of Japan, or to see a subject of the Great Mogul bargaining with a subject of the Czar of Muscovy. He was infinitely delighted to mix among these motley groups, to observe their different costumes, and to listen to their different tongues. Sometimes he made one of a group of Dutchmen; sometimes he was lost in a crowd of Jews; and sometimes he was

Digitized by Google

jostled by a body of Armenians. Now he fancied himself a Dane, now a Swede, and now a Frenchman; or rather, like the old philosopher, he felt himself to be a citizen of the world. Moving there, a silent spectator in the busy throng, he often imagined one of the old kings, whose effigies adorned the edifice, standing in person and looking down on the wealthy concourse of people with which the place was every day filled; and he said to himself how the monarch, come to life again, would wonder to hear all the languages of Europe spoken in this little spot of his former dominions, and to see so many private men negotiating like princes for greater sums than were formerly paid into the royal treasury.

The last place in London to which I will ask the reader to accompany me with Addison is one which has changed but little since his time, and has been of late very much in all our thoughts—I mean Westminster Abbey. He tells us that in his serious and pensive moods he very often walked there by himself, where the gloominess of the place, with the solemnity of the building, and the condition of the people who lie in it, filled his mind with a melancholy, or rather a thoughtfulness, that was not unpleasing. Pacing these hallowed precincts he observed that the great war, then still raging with France, had crowded the church with many empty tombs and uninhabited monuments erected to the memory of men whose bones were perhaps mouldering in the plains of Blenheim or weltering in the depths of the ocean. Since he wrote thus, two hundred years have passed away, years not the least memorable nor the least glorious in the long roll of English history. In these centuries how many sons of England, illustrious in arts, in letters, in eloquence, in arms, their race of glory run, have been borne, amid a nation's mourning, to their last resting-place in these solemn aisles! Addison himself sleeps there, not far from the dust of Elizabeth. There we will leave him, lying with his peers. They rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.

JAMES G. FRAZER.

Digitized by Google

Art. 8.—ABYSSINIA UNDER MENELIK AND AFTER.

1. *Abyssinia. A handbook prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office.* No. 129. H.M.S.O., 1920.
2. *Menelik.* By R. de Caix. Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1, 1911.
3. *Nelle Terre del Negus.* By Lincoln de Castro. 2 vols. Milan: Treves, 1915.
4. *Bulletins du Comité de l'Afrique Française.* Paris.
5. *Le Partage de l'Afrique.* By G. Hanotaux. Paris: Flammarion, 1909.
6. *Histoire de L'Éthiopie.* By L. J. Morié. 2 vols. Paris: Challamel, 1904.

THE death of Menelik II, the victor of Adowa and the creator of the vast Abyssinian or Ethiopian Empire, on Dec. 16, 1913, passed almost unnoticed in the public press. True, he had been smitten with paralysis in 1907; and repeated strokes in the following years had reduced him to such a moribund condition that for a long time he had ceased to play any part in public affairs. Now that time has placed us at a greater distance from the events, it is possible from such sources as the local newspapers and the statements of foreign ministers, supplemented by sundry official documents and a few French and Italian books on Ethiopia—English publications have been conspicuous only by their absence—to gain a clearer insight into the course of affairs in this backwater of the world's history, and a juster estimate of the part that Menelik himself played in shaping them.

Little is known of the Emperor's early years. Sehala Mariam—such was his original name—was born in 1844, the son of Haile Malicot, King of Shoa. His father died in 1855 on the eve of meeting in battle the newly-proclaimed Emperor Theodore, who had advanced at the head of a large army into Shoa to bring that province, which had for several decades asserted its independence, within the limits of his empire. The conquest was easily effected, and the young Sehala was carried off as a hostage. After ten years of captivity Theodore tried to win over the heir to the Shoan throne by offering him his daughter in marriage. Sehala

Digitized by Google

expressed himself pleased and flattered, but made use of the preparations for his wedding to effect his own escape to Shoa. There he soon found means (1866) to kill Theodore's governor and to proclaim himself king of Shoa under the ambitious title of Menelik II, thereby claiming descent from the legendary Menelik, son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and declaring his own pretensions to the imperial throne, which the career not only of Theodore himself but of many predecessors had shown to belong to the strongest sword.

Menelik had, however, still twenty-three years to wait before he reached the summit of his ambition. Though Theodore in 1868 committed suicide on the eve of the capture of Magdala by the British army under Napier, military strength still lay with the rulers of northern Abyssinia; and, after four years' struggle with his rivals, Goldja Kassa of Tigre successfully emerged (1872) as Emperor of all Abyssinia under the title of John IV. The troublous times of John's seventeen years' reign were astutely used by Menelik to strengthen his own position and to enlarge his territories. First the Egyptian, then the Dervish and Italian aggressions kept the Emperor fully occupied in the north; only on two occasions did he find time to deal with his disloyal dependent, the King of Shoa, in the south. In 1878 he invaded Shoa to punish Menelik for his alliance with the Egyptian Khedive; the king submitted without fighting and consented to receive his crown from the Emperor's hands. Again, in 1882, John attempted further to ensure the fidelity of his powerful vassal, whose extensive conquests in the south and west he now acknowledged, by promoting a marriage between his own son Area Selassye and Menelik's daughter Zauditu. At the same time he recognised Menelik as his immediate successor, but bargained that Area should be the future heir to the imperial throne. Meanwhile Menelik had succeeded in vastly improving the Shoan army and in more than doubling his ancestral territories.

The geographical position of Shoa was highly favourable to Menelik's ambitious plans. It formed the southern excrescence of old Abyssinia from which it was practically isolated; but, commanding the head of the valley of the Hawash, the mouth of which had since

Digitized by Google

1862 been in the possession of the French, it was thereby connected with the external world. In 1843 Menelik's grandfather had signed a commercial treaty with Louis Philippe; and Menelik, continuing his policy, had in 1876 and in 1881 opened official relations with the French Republic, asking for arms and locomotives.

When Menelik first ascended the throne, the southern half of the great plateau of which old Abyssinia forms the northern half, was inhabited by independent tribes of Galla, who surrounded Shoa on the east, south, and west, extending from Harrar on the east to Wallega on the west and as far as Lake Rudolf on the south. They were a prosperous and industrious people engaged in agriculture and cattle raising; but, though individually good fighters, they possessed no powers of political cohesion, and their tribes never united for self-defence. For centuries they had been regarded as fair game by their warlike Abyssinian neighbours, who, when the Galla crops had been harvested, were accustomed to make raids upon these peaceful farmers, carrying off not only their corn and cattle, but also their women and children. The Galla, too, formed the bulk of the Shoan population, but the Abyssinian minority had for more than a century reduced them to the position of serfs, who cultivated the lands of their idle warrior lords and served as reliable soldiers in their armies.

The youthful Menelik, with his troops armed with European rifles, was highly successful in these raids, but very soon, whether guided by his own intelligence or by the advice of his European counsellors, he replaced such occasional forays by a regular system of conquest. Convinced that much more was to be made out of the helpless Galla by their permanent exploitation, he began in the early seventies to occupy the districts that he overran with permanent garrisons of his own troops, providing at the same time for their administration under a hierarchy of his own officials. In most cases he reduced the unfortunate natives to the position of *gabars*, little better than serfs, who in return for exemption from massacre were forced to pay tithes, to provision his troops, and to render many heavy personal services, such as forced labour for sixty or seventy days in the year or in war-time acting as baggage carriers.

Digitized by Google

All his new acquisitions and revenues Menelik steadily used for one object only—to increase his military power and prestige. With Galla money he rewarded his generals, paid his soldiers, and bought, first from the French and then from the Italians, huge supplies of arms and ammunition wherewith to equip his ever-growing armies. The details of his early conquests are unknown, but they certainly included the districts of Gurage, Kaffa, and Jimma; and in 1887, shortly after its evacuation by the Egyptians, he annexed the vast district of Harrar. The general result was that, when on the death of John in March 1889, Menelik proclaimed himself Emperor, no rivals dared to contest his claims. His supremacy was recognised by Tekla Haimanot, King of Gojjam, and the other great chieftains. Only Ras Mangasha, the natural son of the late Emperor, whom John on his death-bed had, in defiance of the agreement of 1882, nominated as his successor (Area Selassye having died in 1888), refused to submit, supported by Ras Alula, his father's famous general; the two retired together to Tigre to organise resistance. Menelik, however, though he had not yet overcome their opposition, by November 1889 felt himself sufficiently secure to have himself crowned Negus Nagasti (King of Kings) by the Abun Matewos at Entotto, the then capital of Shoa, instead of at Axum in Tigre, the traditional place for the coronation of the Emperors. Henceforward Menelik's politics, from being local, became not only national but international.

Since 1883 Menelik had been on friendly terms with the Italians, and on May 2, 1889, he signed the famous Treaty of Uccialli, whereby the limits of Italian and Abyssinian territory were accurately defined, and (under clause xvii) the Negus consented to 'avail himself of the Italian Government for any negotiations which he might have with other powers.' A further convention followed, on Oct. 1, whereby Menelik was definitely recognised by Italy as 'Emperor of Ethiopia,' and the boundaries were changed on the basis of *de facto* possession, which had since May been considerably altered by Italian advances in the north. A few days later Italy, relying on clause xvii, notified to the European Powers that she had by the Treaty of Uccialli been given a protectorate over Abyssinia.

Digitized by Google

Early in 1890 Menelik reduced Ras Mangasha to submission; but a squabble between Menelik's nominee, Ras Seyum, and Ras Sebhat, the ally of Italy, over their claims to Agame, the northern district of Tigre, brought the Italians on the scene. In March the Italian general occupied Adowa in violation of the terms of the Treaty. A terrible famine for several months put an end to all military operations; but in September, at French instigation, Menelik addressed two letters to the King of Italy, in the first of which he complained that article xvii in the Treaty differed in the Italian and Abyssinian texts, the latter merely stating in permissive form 'may avail himself' as against the Italian version 'consents to avail himself'; and in the second he complained of the violation of the frontier agreement.

At this time the European Powers were busy partitioning Africa into spheres of influence. Undeterred by Menelik's remonstrances, which were never communicated to the British Government, the Italian Government, in March and April 1891, made two agreements with Great Britain, whereby Eritrea and the whole of Abyssinia, assumed by both parties to be an Italian protectorate, were recognised as within the Italian 'sphere of influence.' In reply to the first of these agreements Menelik, again acting on French advice, addressed, on April 10, a circular letter to the European Powers, which at the time seems to have travelled no further than the Italian Foreign Office. Herein, after stating that he had no intention of remaining an idle spectator while far-distant Powers were partitioning Africa, he set forth in exact terms what he claimed to be the boundaries of his Empire, and ended with the words:

'En indiquant aujourd'hui les limites actuelles de mon empire, je tâcherai, si Dieu veut bien m'accorder la vie et la force, de rétablir les anciennes frontières d'Ethiopie jusqu'à Khartoum et jusqu'au lac Nyanza avec les pays Gallas.'

The Italian alliance with Ras Mangasha in December, made with the view to detach Tigre from the Abyssinian Empire, still further aroused Menelik's suspicions, though at the same time—to pacify him—a promise was made to hand over to him 2,000,000 cartridges in accordance with the Treaty of Uccialli. Before taking further

Digitized by Google

action Menelik waited patiently for the fulfilment of the promise; but immediately after the arrival of the cartridges in February 1893, he solemnly denounced the Treaty to all the Powers.

'Sous des apparences d'amitié,' he wrote, 'on n'a en fait cherché qu' à s'emparer de mon pays. . . . Je n'ai pas l'intention de porter, en quoi que ce soit, atteinte à notre amitié avec l'Italie, mais mon empire a une importance suffisante pour ne rechercher aucun protectorat et vivre indépendant. Je tiens donc à porter à votre connaissance mon intention de ne renouveler en aucune façon ce traité.'

In the following year, while the Italians were busy fighting the Dervishes, Menelik once more made terms with Ras Mangasha, and further strengthened his military position by large importations of arms from the French. In 1895 the Italians invaded Tigre and occupied Adowa and Axum, advancing in October so far south as Makalle. Meanwhile Menelik, in an inspiring proclamation, summoned his governors to collect their forces for a great and united effort against the foreign invaders, and at the end of the year appeared in Tigre at the head of some 100,000 to 200,000 men, against whom the Italians could oppose only 20,000.

It is needless here to reproduce the details of the campaign which culminated in the disastrous defeat of the Italians at Adowa on March 1, 1896, and thus put an end to Crispi's dream of an Italian Empire in Africa reaching from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. On Oct. 26 Italy signed a Treaty of Peace at Addis Abbaba, whereby the Treaty of Uccialli was annulled, the independence of Abyssinia was affirmed, and a new delimitation of frontiers was to be made within a year.

The victory of Adowa had clearly shown to all the European Powers interested in East Africa and the Nile valley that the Abyssinian Empire, freed henceforward from all pretence of Italian protection, was a force to be seriously reckoned with and to be dealt with by direct negotiations. Menelik's court at Addis Abbaba at once became a hotbed of European intrigue. The French were the first in the field. The Italo-Abyssinian war had coincided in time with the vast French scheme to join the Congo to the Nile by gaining an effective footing

Digitized by Google

along the Bahr-el-Ghazal so far as the left bank of the White Nile, and thus to bar for ever the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest of the Sudan, which the British Government had recently decided to undertake—partly to create a diversion in favour of Italy. Accordingly, in 1896, the French Government planned to reinforce their own policy by inducing Menelik to use his newly-demonstrated military power to make effective his earlier claims to the negro country on the west as far as the White Nile. This mission was entrusted to M. Lagarde, Governor of French Somaliland, and resulted in the conclusion, on March 20, 1897, of what M. Hanotaux, who was Foreign Minister at the time, has called* 'un veritable traité d'alliance,' though the only document ever published (1908) was a very innocent convention regulating the Franco-Abyssinian frontier of Somaliland.

A month later a British Mission arrived under Mr (now Sir) Rennell Rodd, Lord Cromer's second-in-command at Cairo, who was successful, it is said, in convincing Menelik that the British advance then proceeding up the Nile against the Mahdists concealed no designs against himself, and in securing from him a pledge of neutrality during the operations against the Dervishes with whom he had recently been in correspondence. But the only outward result was a treaty of amity and commerce signed on May 14, 1897, and supplemented on June 4 by an agreement which accepted as the frontier between Abyssinia and British Somaliland the line laid down in Menelik's letter of April 10, 1891, thus recognising both Harrar and the Ogaden country as within the Emperor's dominions. The more burning question of the Sudan frontier was left untouched. On June 24 the Italians signed a new commercial treaty on the ordinary lines, but a few weeks later found themselves forced to accept a new frontier between Eritrea and Abyssinia in accordance with the claims of Menelik's letter of 1891, which involved considerable sacrifice of territory.

Meanwhile, apparently in conformity with the veritable *traité d'alliance*, but really in furtherance of long-cherished schemes of conquest, the armies of

* 'Le Partage de l'Afrique,' pp. 133–135.

Digitized by Google

Menelik had been set in motion. The long and dangerous dispute with Italy had not prevented considerable acquisitions of territory; for in 1892–4 the Emperor had possessed himself of the extensive district north of Lake Abaia inhabited by the Wallamu tribe. Now, in the autumn of 1897, four distinct expeditions were dispatched. The first expedition, according to French ideas,* had for its object the occupation of the Sudanese provinces, Gedaref, Gallabat, and Fazogli, but as a matter of fact contented itself with the capture of Metemma (Gallabat town) and the subjugation of the Beni Shangul, a negroid tribe on the western edge of Abyssinian plateau overlooking the valley of the White Nile. The second, after ruthlessly suppressing a revolt in Kaffa, subjugated the Gimirra and other neighbouring tribes. Then turning southwards, this army reached the river Kibish, flowing into Lake Rudolf, and annexed the territory to the north and north-east of the lake so far as the Boran Galla. The third expedition extended Menelik's dominions in a south-easterly direction towards the desert of the Ogaden.

French hopes, however, mainly centred on the success of the fourth expedition, whereby the French advisers of the Emperor intended to anticipate the British operations in the valley of the Upper Nile. Late in the autumn of 1897 Dejazmach Tesamma, accompanied by M. Fèvre, a Frenchman, and M. Potter, a Swiss, led out an army of 5000 men towards the White Nile, and by May 1898 had advanced as far as the junction of the Pibor with the Baro. There he detached a flying column of 1500 men, which with MM. Fèvre and Potter actually succeeded in reaching the White Nile at the point where it joins the Sobat. On an island in the middle of the river M. Fèvre hoisted the French flag on June 22, while the Abyssinians hoisted the Abyssinian flag on the right bank. The approach of the deadly rainy season and want of food forced them to retire, before Captain Marchand, who had started from the French Congo on his long march across Africa in June 1896, arrived at Fashoda (Kodok) (July 10, 1898). A steamer, sent upstream to reconnoitre, found the flags still flying on Sept. 1.

* Cp. Hanotaux, l.c.

Digitized by Google

Though, from a French point of view, these extensive military operations were a failure—owing to the enforced withdrawal of Marchand from Fashoda after General Kitchener's victory at Omdurman (Sept. 2, 1898)—yet they enabled Menelik substantially to realise the scheme of conquest proposed to him by his French advisers in 1891, and thereby to include within his Empire the whole of the great Ethiopian plateau, of which his predecessors on the imperial throne had at most held only the northern half. His new boundaries were formally recognised in a series of treaties (1900–1908) with Italy, Great Britain, and the Sudanese Government. From being the southernmost town of the isolated and semi-independent kingdom of Shoa, Menelik had made Addis Abbaba into the centrally situated capital of a vast and united Abyssinian Empire with an area of 350,000 square miles—more than three times the size of the British Isles.

In 1897 France, Italy, and Russia appointed permanent ministers to represent their respective interests—an example followed next year by Great Britain. Henceforth Menelik's task was not to extend his already overgrown territory, but to prevent revolts and to consolidate the Empire that he had won; and at the same time to secure it against further European aggressions by carefully defining its frontiers—hence the series of conventions already alluded to—and by skilfully fomenting the jealousies of the rival European Powers represented at his court.

Menelik's government has been well described as 'a military despotism tempered by distance.' The foundation of his power was the Shoan army, which he took care to keep, in numbers, arms, and equipment, far superior to the armies of any of his provinces. He himself directed the administration of Shoa and Ifat, and governed the newly-conquered Galla country and his other acquisitions through the military officers in charge of the garrisons of his own troops, whom he could appoint and dismiss at his pleasure. His faithful nephew, Ras Makonnen, he made governor of Harrar.

The old kingdoms of the north presented greater difficulties, though even here his predecessor John had already paved the way by crushing the turbulent

Digitized by Google

aristocracy. Menelik had merely to give the finishing blow by abolishing, as opportunity offered, the hereditary governorships, and by appointing his own nominees—generally his kinsmen or connexions by marriage—in their place, often at the same time subdividing or otherwise altering the boundaries of the ancient provinces. The old chiefs had often assumed the title of Negus, as being next in rank to the Emperor, the Negus Nagasti; but Menelik, though he was obliged to tolerate his old and powerful rival, Tekla Haimanot, as Negus of Gojjam till the latter's death in 1901, never conferred on any governor of his own appointment a title so near to his own. His nominees bore the titles of *Ras* (commander-in-chief of a provincial army) or *Dejazmach* (general) or *Fitaurari* (commander of an advanced guard)—the title being personal to the holder and bearing no relation to the importance of his province or of the military force placed under his command. His son-in-law, Ras Mikael, was governor of the Wollo country, including the district of Magdala. The Semyen province belonged to his Empress Taitu and was administered by her representative. His brother-in-law, Ras Wolie, was in charge of Yeju and half of Lasta—the other half and the province of Waag being under Wagshum Gwangul, who had proved his fidelity by many years' devoted service.

The old kingdom of Tigre, steeped in imperial traditions and jealous of upstart Shoa, was, though never dangerous, always a nest of rebellion and intrigue throughout Menelik's reign. For the first ten years Ras Mangasha, the late Emperor's natural son, was allowed, after he had been made to divorce his wife in favour of a niece of the Empress Taitu, to retain the government. But when, in 1898, he ventured openly to revolt, he was soon forced to surrender and deported to Ankober—his province being assigned first to Ras Makonnen and then to Ras Wolie, the Empress' brother. In later years the native chiefs indulged in frequent outbreaks, but caused no serious trouble.

Thus, by 1900, Menelik had secured that the administration of all the provinces in his Empire should be in the hands of newly-appointed governors entirely dependent upon his pleasure and possessed of no local influence to

Digitized by Google

tempt them to revolt. They were, moreover, surrounded with minor officials, each anxious to step into the governor's shoes and always ready to report any indiscretion on his part to headquarters. One of the most effective checks was the annual visit which the governors were expected to pay to Addis Abbaba, leaving the administration of their provinces in the hands of their deputies or *azajs*. If a governor was at all suspect, it was Menelik's custom to detain him at his court for an indefinite period on various honourable pretexts, sometimes sending a reliable minor official to administer the province instead of the *azaj*.

What, however, robbed Menelik's system of administration of any possibility of efficiency was the fact that, though he had absolute power over his governors, he had no control over their subordinates. Each province was divided into districts and each district into groups of villages—every unit, from the district to the village, being under its appropriate official, who was only responsible to his immediate superior and no one else. The Emperor's orders, therefore—in order to be actually executed—had to filter down from the governor at the top to the village headman at the bottom, and in the process would be, more often than not, hopelessly blocked. The practical result is pithily expressed in the Abyssinian proverb: 'No dog knows his master's master.'

Inefficient though his system of administration undoubtedly was, yet substantially it fulfilled its purpose. Not only was his supremacy never seriously challenged during his lifetime, but the unity which he gave to his Empire, half of which consisted of recent annexations, was firmly enough rooted to withstand the shocks which so often threatened it during his illness and since his death. His foreign policy was consistently based on two principles—unswerving insistence upon his independent sovereignty, and the legal demarcation of all his territories, whether inherited or acquired. After his victory at Adowa in 1896, his sovereignty was never again called in question, though fears of European aggression, open or covert, made him slow and suspicious in dealing with the various foreign representatives resident at his court. In his negotiations with them he was indeed at a serious disadvantage; for, though on

Digitized by Google

two or three occasions he sent missions to Europe, he had no corresponding representatives of his own, accredited to the Governments concerned, from whom to get first-hand information wherewith to check the *ex parte* statements of the Foreign Ministers at Addis Abbaba. On two occasions especially his suspicions were aroused. In 1902 he flatly refused to sign one of his many railway conventions with the French Government, because he thought that it involved a surrender of Abyssinian territory; and again, in 1906, when in July the Tripartite Treaty between Great Britain, France, and Italy—one of the first-fruits of the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904—was communicated to him for signature, for nearly six months he hesitated what to do, because, although ostensibly it guaranteed the maintenance of the political and territorial *status quo* of Ethiopia and of the sovereign rights of the Emperor, yet he feared that some of its clauses, more especially those dealing with the construction of railways, threatened interference with his rights, and might even foreshadow a partition of his country into spheres of influence. Not till December did he return the evasive reply:

'We have received the arrangement made by the three Powers. We thank them for their communication and their desire to keep and maintain the independence of our Government. But let it be understood that this arrangement in no way limits what we consider our sovereign rights.'

In his frontier policy, though equally suspicious, he was on the whole eminently reasonable. He began by clearly stating his claims in 1891; by 1898 he had more or less effectively occupied the whole of the Abyssinian plateau except a small portion on the north, which was recognised as Italian in 1900. Otherwise his pretensions underwent but little modification except on the side of the Sudan, where, by the treaty of 1902 with Great Britain, he was content to have his frontier drawn along the Abyssinian foothills except for the excrescence into the plain between the rivers Baro and Akobo. This far-sighted policy went a long way towards freeing Menelik from that frequent source of trouble to semi-civilised sovereigns whose territories march with those of more civilised governments—the occurrence of frontier-raids

Digitized by Google

by the wild tribes on either side. Such raids did indeed occur, and only too frequently. But, so long as his health permitted him to administer his own affairs, Menelik always showed his willingness either to check them himself or to co-operate with his neighbours in checking them, as well as to negotiate with regard to any matters in dispute. Indeed in the British operations (1900–4) against the troublesome Mohammed Abdullah, known as the 'Mad Mullah,' Menelik's troops inflicted several severe defeats upon the enemy, and finally drove him out of Abyssinian territory altogether.

From his youth, Menelik had been keenly alive to the advantages which he and his country might gain from European commerce and material civilisation. So early as 1880, he had granted a concession to a French explorer to make a railway from Tajura Bay to Shoa, though nothing came of it. Again in 1893–4, he granted to M. Ilg, his favourite Swiss Councillor of State, authority to form a company for the construction of a line from Jibuti to Harrar and Addis Abbaba and thence westwards to the banks of the White Nile. Out of this original concession grew the prolonged and tortuous 'affair' of the Jibuti railway, over which for more than ten years the French, British, and Italian Ministers fought fierce diplomatic battles. These were only ended—and then *de jure* rather than *de facto*—by special clauses in the Tripartite Treaty of 1906, dealing not only with the points in dispute, but also with the future construction of railways in Abyssinia by the three Powers respectively. Meanwhile the construction of the Jibuti railway itself, undertaken by the French and begun in 1897, was hindered by all kinds of obstacles—financial difficulties, foreign obstruction, and native intrigues; and it did not reach Addis Abbaba until 1918, five years after Menelik's death.

In road-making Menelik was even less successful. For a few months in 1896 his Italian prisoners were employed in cutting roads near Addis Abbaba, but none of these ever reached completion. Other efforts were equally futile, so that the only means of communication continued to be beaten tracks, following the water-sheds so far as possible, and utterly impassable during the heavy rains from June to September. In this season,

Digitized by Google

too, the rivers running at the bottom of the deep cañons are unfordable, and the upland districts are like islands entirely cut off from one another. Wheeled traffic, therefore, is at all times impracticable; and all merchandise has to be conveyed on pack-animals.

In 1899, Menelik began a new policy of trying to open up his country by granting commercial concessions to Europeans. The earliest was the concession of a large and recently conquered district north-west of Lake Rudolf to Leontieff, a Russian adventurer, who was recalled in disgrace after two years of plunder and misgovernment. Shortly afterwards concessions to search for gold were granted to an English company in the Beni Shangul country and to Councillor Ilg in Wallega. In 1903, an Italian company was authorised to search for minerals in general in the whole of Tigre and a large part of Amhara; aud a Sennar syndicate received the same privilege for Gojjam. Ydlibi, a cosmopolitan financier of doubtful extraction, was suffered for some years to exploit—with the help of British capital—a monopoly in rubber over a vast territory in the south-west lowlands. Similar concessions and monopolies for coffee, skins, wax, and salt were assigned to companies of different nations.

These spasmodic efforts of the Emperor to develop the rich resources of his country met with but little success, for various reasons. First and foremost, he completely failed to carry his people with him; for the native Abyssinians pride themselves on being a ruling race and leave all trade and industry—even agriculture except in the north—to the Galla and other conquered races. Secondly, the official class is hopelessly lazy, venal, and corrupt, and looks upon all traders as fair game. After payment of imperial or local dues at innumerable points on the trade routes, or of *backsheesh* to greedy officers, the luckless merchant, whether a subject or a foreigner, would find even the heaviest profits completely swallowed up. The only commercial institution of his reign that has survived is the Bank of Abyssinia, founded in 1905 by the National Bank of Egypt, with the right of minting money and issuing notes. All public finance passes through its hands, and it also transacts insurance and mortgage business. After

Digitized by Google

some early struggles it has proved financially successful. At a comparatively early date a telegraph line was constructed by the Italians from Addis Abbaba to Eritrea, and more recently another line along the French railway has connected Addis Abbaba with Jibuti. When the telephone was introduced, Menelik was quick to see its advantages for administrative purposes, and linked up his capital with his principal administrative centres.

Nor was the Emperor more successful in his policy of social reform. In 1889, like his predecessor John, he decreed the abolition of slavery except for captives taken in war. But, except that slaves were no longer sold in open market and the export trade was stopped, the decree remained a dead letter. Even now every Abyssinian, who can afford it, owns one or more slaves for his household work. Similarly, Menelik decreed a reform of the Fatha Nagast, the ancient code of law, based, according to one theory, on the Mosaic law and the code of Justinian or, according to another, on a 13th-century amalgamation of the Mosaic law, the Canon Law of the early Eastern Church, and Moslem Law; but after the decree justice continued to be administered in the courts according to the varying local customary law exactly as before. Again, in 1900, he forbade the importation of absinth and other spirits, but the Abyssinians remained as drunken a nation as ever. In 1907, Menelik decreed a compulsory system of education for all boys over 12; but twenty miles outside Addis Abbaba, where alone any schools were built, no one ever heard of the decree. In the same year he set up a Council of Ministers on the European model; but so long as he kept his health, he continued to do all the work of administration himself.

The first sign that all was not well with the aged Emperor was a rumour, in May 1906, that he had had an apoplectic stroke. In the same spring death removed both Ras Makonnen and Ras Mangasha, the two possible and most obvious successors to the throne—facts which, coupled with German intrigues which began with the appearance of the first German Minister at Addis Abbaba about the same time, undoubtedly hastened the conclusion of the Tripartite Convention in July of that

Digitized by Google

year. For the next eighteen months, notwithstanding that he was in August 1907 smitten with partial paralysis, Menelik was still able to take a more or less active part in transacting business, his last public act being the signature on May 16, 1908, of a final frontier treaty with Italy. In June it was officially announced that Menelik had appointed Lij Yasu, the son of Ras Mikael and his own daughter Shoaraga, then a boy of twelve, to be his successor.

For the next five and a half years the old Emperor lingered on in a comatose state till his death on Dec. 16, 1913. His capital became the centre of intrigues among rival claimants to the throne, though the fear of Menelik's recovery was sufficient to prevent any decisive action being taken. Foremost among the intriguers was the Empress Taitu, who, childless herself, aimed to get Princess Zauditu, the Emperor's daughter by a former wife and now the wife of her nephew, Ras Gugsa, recognised as heiress to the throne in place of Yasu. In October 1909, however, the Council of Ministers announced that Menelik had again solemnly designated Yasu as his successor and Ras Tesamma as regent. For the next few months a quarrel between the new regent and Ras Woldo Giorgis, the two most powerful of the Shoan chiefs, once more favoured Taitu's designs, till matters came to a crisis in March 1910. Then the leading Rases of Shoa united to crush her ascendency and insisted on a restoration of the state of things as decreed by Menelik. Tesamma was allowed to continue as regent; but, on his death in April 1911, the Council decided that Yasu, now fifteen years of age, was old enough to act himself under its guidance.

Things now went from bad to worse, notwithstanding the efforts of Ras Mikael to win over all parties to support his son. Yasu soon tired of his Councillors' leading-strings, and for several months left Addis Abbaba and roamed about his Empire, spending much of his time in the Moslem province of Jimma. Here he first showed signs of reverting to the faith of his forefathers —Ras Mikael had been a recent and fanatical convert to Christianity—and betrothed himself to the daughter of Aba Jifar, its hereditary Sultan. Early in 1913 Yasu returned to Addis Abbaba, where he found that his

Digitized by Google

Moslem proclivities had highly incensed the Shoan chiefs against him. He now seems to have conceived the design of forming a Wollo-Moslem party to overthrow the Christian Government of the Empire, and with this end in view paid frequent visits to the chiefs of the Wollo and Danakil countries. Menelik's death in December 1913 made little difference to the general state of affairs; indeed the event was for nearly three years concealed from the knowledge of the people. In 1914 Yasu made his father Negus of Wollo Galla and Tigre, and after the outbreak of the European war was encouraged by his Turkish and German advisers to lay plans for uniting all the Moslems of the Empire into a single all-powerful body. He proceeded to form alliances with the Moslem and Danakil chiefs, both of Abyssinia and the neighbouring countries, supplying the 'Mad Mullah' with a large stock of arms.

In 1916 his designs came to a head. In April he officially placed Abyssinia in religious dependence upon the Sultan of Turkey, and sent to the Turkish Consul at Addis Abbaba a confession of his Moslem faith and an Abyssinian flag bearing the crescent, promising his Moslem allies to lead them against the Entente Powers so soon as a great German victory should be announced; for it was commonly believed that the Central European Powers had already embraced Islam and imposed their new faith on Belgium, Poland, Serbia, and France. This outrageous conduct, however, was too much for the long-suffering Shoan chiefs. While Yasu was at Harrar, they assembled (September 1916) at Addis Abbaba and drew up a bill of indictment, accusing him of apostasy, dissolute conduct, and misgovernment. The Abun Matewos, with great reluctance, pronounced his excommunication and absolved the Rases from their oath of fealty. The Princess Zauditu, Menelik's daughter, was proclaimed Empress; and Dejazmach Taffari, son of Makonnen, was declared regent and heir to the throne. At Addis Abbaba the revolution was carried through practically without a blow. A few days later Yasu's forces at Harrar were defeated, and the renegade prince fled to his Danakil friends. On Oct. 27 his father, at the head of his Wollo army, was overwhelmed and made prisoner near Ankober. The new Government

Digitized by Google

failed, however, to follow up its military successes; and, though the new Empress was duly crowned by the Abun at Addis Abbaba, Yasu was enabled to collect a new force, which after sundry defeats took refuge at Magdala. But Yasu was no warrior; in August his courage failed him; he deserted his army and fled (August 1917) with a few followers to the Danakil country, where he remained, plotting and waiting upon events till the winter of 1920–1. Then, relying on the support of the Ras of Tigre, Seyum Mangasha, the grandson of the Emperor John IV, he ventured to appear in that always turbulent district, but was within a few weeks arrested by the local governor of Makalle. Soon afterwards, when Ras Taffari marched northwards at the head of a formidable army meant to overawe the rebels, Yasu was handed over to the Regent, and is now in confinement.

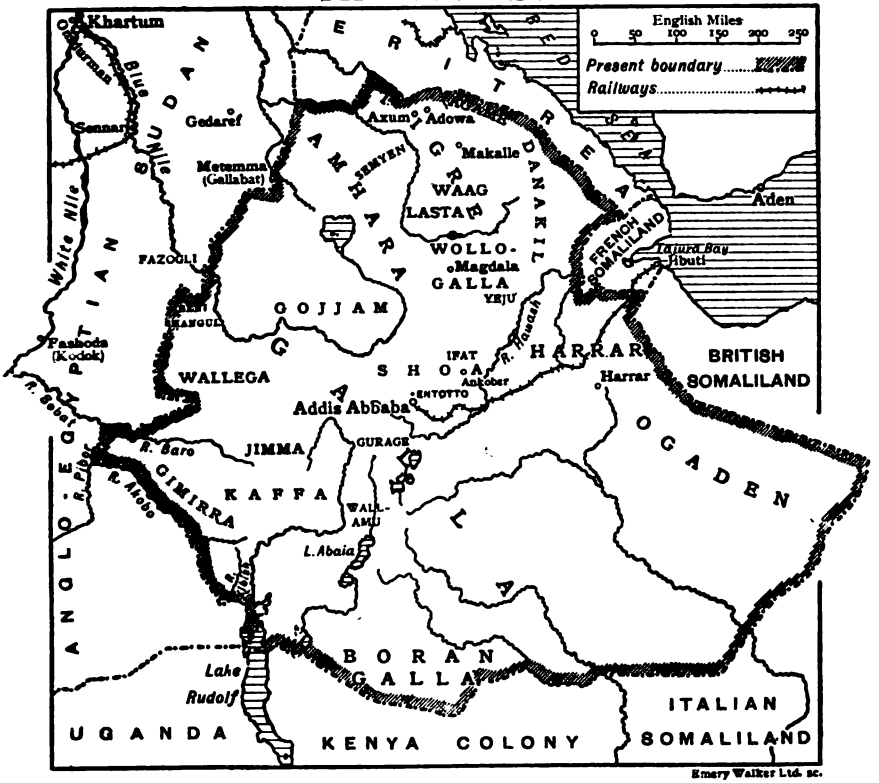
Otherwise, since 1917, nothing startling seems to have happened. The new Government soon showed that it was no better than the old; in fact personal quarrels between the Empress, her regent, and the Council—when there was one; for it was suspended between March 1918 and July 1919—have practically rendered all government impossible. The ill-paid soldiers of the Palace Guard and of the Shoan army, kept in the neighbourhood of the capital, have been a constant menace to any orderly administration. In Menelik's time they were paid and fed first by long wars of conquest and then by heavy exactions from the newly-conquered provinces. But now, for more than twenty years, there have been no more lucrative wars; and continual misgovernment has so impoverished the subject races that the old tribute in kind and money has dwindled to small dimensions. Nevertheless a long series of disorders, outbreaks, and mutinies has not been sufficient to overthrow Menelik's great work of unification, chiefly because no prince of royal blood has shown himself a warrior, much less strong enough to assert his supremacy over his fellow-princes, Rases, and generals, or to shake off the dominance of the European Powers, whose interest it is to maintain the *status quo*.

What remedy is to be found for this melancholy state of affairs, it is not easy to discover. At one time, under cover of the Treaty of London (1915), Italy seemed

Digitized by Google

inclined to claim annexation of the whole country, or at least a protectorate such as she had tried to assert 1889–1896. But, when Great Britain and France made it plain that clause xiii of the Treaty only promised rectifications of her frontiers at the expense of the British and French territories bordering upon them, and

ABYSSINIA



that they meant to adhere to the terms of the Tripartite Convention of 1906, Italy abated her pretensions—so much so that on Sept. 27, 1919, Signor Tittoni, speaking in the Italian Chamber, declared not only that the integrity of the Ethiopian Empire formed the basis of the Allied policy, but that any diminution of Ethiopian territory or independence would be contrary to Italian interests.

Despairing of any radical reforms in internal administration, the three European neighbours of Abyssinia

Digitized by Google

seem now to be relying on a policy of peaceful penetration through trade and commerce, for which the Jibuti railway gives an opportunity never before offered. Hitherto trade on any large scale has been impossible; the native Abyssinian still despises work and trade of every kind as much as ever, and not unnaturally is hostile to foreign interference. The old evils of Menelik's time —bad communications, arbitrary taxation, corrupt dealings, robbery, and general insecurity of life and property —are just as rife, and have consistently ruined all commercial and industrial enterprises, whether attempted by members of the subject races or by foreigners. Such internal trade as there is has been wholly in the hands of foreign firms (mostly French), centred at Addis Abbaba for the sake of imperial protection. British trade has been chiefly represented by our Indian fellow-subjects, whose interests our resident Minister has found it somewhat difficult to safeguard. Meanwhile, the conditions of trading all the world over have grown worse; violent fluctuations of the rates of exchange and of prices, difficulties both of freight and tonnage, have brought commercial enterprise everywhere to a standstill; with the result in Abyssinia, as elsewhere, that schemes started at the time of the Armistice with good prospects of success have so far yielded but little profit to their promoters.

G. E. UNDERHILL.

Digitized by Google

Art. 4.—AUSTIN DOBSON.

1. *Collected Poems.* By Austin Dobson. Kegan Paul, 1897.
2. *Eighteenth-Century Vignettes.* Three Series. Chatto & Windus, 1892–96.
3. *Side-Walk Studies.* Chatto & Windus, 1902.
4. *William Hogarth.* Kegan Paul, 1891.
5. *Horace Walpole.* Macmillan, 1910.

And other works.

No writer of equal distinction can ever have exceeded Austin Dobson in the absence of any kind of saliency in the personal details of his life. There was absolutely nothing in his career of over eighty years upon which biography can seize, no glimmer of adventure or faintest tincture of romance. When it has been said that he was born, in 1840, into a professional family; that, after a brief education in England and at Strasbourg, he entered the Board of Trade at the age of sixteen; and that he remained there,

> 'Calme et paisible,
> Comme un poteau
> Inamovible,
> Dans son bureau,'

till he retired from it at the age of sixty, there is nothing exterior that can be added. His married existence, which was untroubled by a single bereavement, enjoyed the same happy uniformity. He did not travel; he made no public appearances; he found no pleasure in political or social distractions. Every weekday morning he proceeded to his office, and every afternoon he returned to his suburban home; on Sundays he went to church. Ealing possessed no citizen more regular in his habits or more blameless in his conduct.

He preserved this noiseless regularity, this resignation to what seemed an excess of bourgeois conventionality, partly in obedience to temperament, partly because it enabled him to devote himself, with no disturbing element, to the workings of his imagination. We should make the gravest of mistakes if we supposed this outward quietude to respond to an inward insensibility. Austin Dobson, so hushed and unexhilarating as his exterior envelope appeared, lived a life of ceaseless mental

Digitized by Google

activity. His intellectual interests absorbed him, and he cultivated a curious power of resuming them, day after day, without any disturbance from domestic or official duties. These he accepted in their proper season, and then passed out of them into what was for him the only real existence, the domain of literature and art. The task of appraising him, therefore, although difficult because it demands observation of secret phenomena, is so far simplified that it has to deal exclusively with mental processes. The critic has to penetrate, as well as he can, the poet's art and the historian's method. He is not distracted by any extraneous circumstance, as is the case in the biographies of most eminent men of letters. The development of Dobson's imagination, and the course it took, are our sole solicitude in contemplating his career.

He had no tradition of literature behind him and no acquaintance with literary people when he entered the Board of Trade, nor did it, I believe, occur to him to write until long afterwards. He was slow in mental development and without confidence in his own powers. For a long time he saw no path before him. But he felt an impetus towards æsthetic expression, and having some facility in drawing, he took to spending his evenings in an art-school at South Kensington. A few of his productions exist, and show a humoristic tendency, in the direction of Cruikshank and Charles Keane. He was, however, brought into contact with a clerk of his own age at the Board of Trade, William Cosmo Monkhouse, afterwards distinguished as an art-critic. Monkhouse, who was much more precocious than Dobson, had been writing verses for years past, and had already some experience of printer's ink. After Monkhouse's death, in 1901, Dobson recalled that his old companion, in those twilight days of their boyhood, 'had the happy faculty of conveying a well-considered and weighty opinion without suggesting superiority or patronage.' The words, very characteristic of Dobson, reveal the relation which long existed between the friends, and which gradually led to an attempt on the part of the elder to enter the lists where his friend seemed already so brilliant. But, for a long while, Dobson was content to read and to admire. He was in his twenty-fifth year

Digitized by Google

when he began to compete in verse with his sole literary associate. He composed the verses called 'A City Flower,' which he sent to 'Temple Bar' in 1865, and presently he had the ecstatic pleasure of seeing them in print. This poem, after long hesitation, Dobson reprinted thirty-four years later, and it has figured in his works ever since. It is a sentimental picture of a girl in a milliner's shop, a graceful and merry composition in the fashion of that day, without any particular characteristic of Austin Dobson's mature style.

But he was now started on his road, and during the next three years he wrote with increasing confidence. A periodical, which has long passed away, 'The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine,' lay open to Monkhouse, and he introduced his friend to the editor. A series of poems by Austin Dobson was published here in 1865 and 1866, among them some that we know. Many others have never been reprinted; and it was the author's wish, strenuously repeated shortly before his death, that they should remain unknown. He had a horror of the 'conscientious' editor of 'complete' posthumous works, who sacrifices the reputation of his victim to a passion for bibliography. But several of these early pieces were retrieved by the author himself; and we turn to 'The Sun Dial,' to 'A Revolutionary Relic,' and in particular to 'Incognita,' with its steady advance in metrical skill, as evidence of the line which Austin Dobson took in starting. Sixty years ago a species of light verse was much in fashion; it was approved of by Mid-Victorian taste, and was exploited with remarkable neatness by Frederick Locker. There were elements in it of Tennyson, of Thackeray, and of Praed. It was rather irritatingly called *vers de société*, in a French of Stratford-atte-Bowe unknown to Paris. It was expected to be scrupulously 'nice.' In this category was included all verse of an easy and debonair character, from which gravity and passion were carefully excluded, but in which an easy note of superficial pathos, and above all of sentiment, was preserved. A better name for it than the silly phrase *vers de société* is 'occasional verse,' which comes near to the *Gelegenheitsdichtung* that Goethe defended.

In the youth of Austin Dobson, by far the most

Digitized by Google

skilful proficient in this airy and accidental class of writing was Frederick Locker, whose volume of 'London Lyrics,' originally published in 1857, had grown to be a sort of standard of perfection. We may recall Locker's own statement with regard to his aim as a poet:

'Occasional verse should be short, graceful, refined, and fanciful, not seldom distinguished by chastened sentiment and often playful. The tone should not be pitched high; it should be terse and idiomatic, and rather in the conversational key; the rhythm should be crisp and sparkling, and the rhyme frequent and never forced, while the entire poem should be marked by tasteful moderation, high finish, and completeness.'

These words express, with remarkable accuracy, the purpose which Austin Dobson put before him in starting on his poetical career. He desired to excel in the little field cultivated so richly by Prior in the 18th and by Praed in the 19th century; and it is important to observe that in his early experiments he made no attempt to extend the borders of this domain, but merely to extract from it the most refined and delicate results of which it was capable. Hence Dobson's earliest advances did not take the shape of any revolt against the sentimental verse of which the latest exponents had been Thackeray and Locker, but of a strenuous self-education in the direct art of expression. It is needful that this should be stated, because in later years, as I shall endeavour to explain, his ambition entirely changed. He used, indeed, to deplore, with as near an approach to bitterness as his sweet nature was capable of, that the critics persisted in seeing in him nothing but a writer of 'vers de société.' It is true that this injustice long pursued his maturer art, but it is not less true that in his original character he was not to be distinguished from those purveyors of 'light' verse who are hardly admitted into the kingdom of Apollo.

In Dobson's twenty-ninth year, in March 1868, Anthony Trollope published in his new periodical, 'St Paul's Magazine,' a poem which marks a sudden advance in the poet's career, and constitutes the earliest exhibition of his individual character as a writer. This was 'Une Marquise'; and to read

Digitized by Google

'As you sit there growing prouder,
And your ringed hands glance and go,
And your fan's *frou-frou* sounds louder,
And your *beaux yeux* flash and glow;—
Ah! you used them on the Painter,
As you know,
For the Sieur Larose spoke fainter,
Bowing low,
Thanked Madame and Heaven for mercy
That each sitter was not Circe,
Or at least he told you so;
Growing proud, I say, and prouder
To the crowd that come and go,
Dainty Deity of Powder,
Fickle Queen of Fop and Beau'—

with the rich colour of its images and speed of movement, and with the bell-like recurrence of its rhymes, is to realise that a new mastery of art had arisen out of the thin grace of 'vers de société.' This dates the opening of Austin Dobson's first mature period, and 'Une Marquise' was quickly followed by 'Avice,' that little masterpiece of winged lightness which sacrificed nothing to poverty of sentiment; by 'A Dead Letter,' in which the narrative form borders for the first time on the dramatic; and by 'The Sick Man and the Birds,' in which the dramatic is successfully achieved. All these pieces belong to 1868 and 1869; and it is pleasant to record that the interest taken in them by Anthony Trollope, and the care he took in meticulous revision and criticism of them, found a delighted and grateful response in Austin Dobson's modest conscientiousness.

At this point an odd incident has to be recorded, since it raised a violent storm in the porcelain tea-cup of the poet's susceptibility. Hitherto the poems which he had published in periodicals—and they had now become rather numerous—had been uniformly signed with the initials 'A. D.' The full name had never yet appeared in print. In 1869 he wrote, and in February 1870 he published, in 'St Paul's Magazine' the poem now well known under the title of 'The Drama of the Doctor's Widow,' which has always been, and still is, a universal favourite with his readers. Dobson had formed the acquaintance of a young lawyer, Richard Webster,

Digitized by Google

who was nearly three years his junior, and who, as Lord Alverstone, was destined to reach the highest position in the legal profession. In 1870 Webster had not long been called to the Bar, but was beginning to be known. In September of the following year, Webster asked Austin Dobson, in an offhand way, whether he had *seen* a poem called 'The Drama of the Doctor's Widow,' to which Dobson answered, 'Yes—I wrote it!' Two days later, Webster sent a letter to Dobson, in which he said, 'an intimate friend of mine tells me she wrote, and has shown me a MS. of "The Drama of a Doctor's Widow," adding further particulars.' Only those who recollect the temperament of the poet will be able to conceive the tempest of agitation which swept over him at this aggression; the charge did indeed become somewhat serious when, in spite of all statements to the contrary, the lady persisted in claiming, not merely 'The Drama of the Doctor's Widow,' but all the other poems signed 'A. D.,' although these were not her initials. Austin Dobson was put to the inconvenience of collecting evidence of his handwriting and of the recollection of common acquaintances, even of printers and press-correctors; and still—and this is perhaps the most amazing fact in the whole imbroglio—Webster could not be induced to withdraw his support of the lady, who died not long afterwards, firmly impenitent. All that Webster would ever concede was, after a delay of ten months, an acknowledgment that he had failed to prove a claim, which, however, he still favoured.

The painful little incident belongs to literary history because the distracted poet, who saw in it far more than its intrinsic importance, recorded the whole story in a pamphlet, now of excessive rarity, which he issued in 1872. This is the earliest of his voluminous writings in book-form, and here for the first time his name was printed in full. The brochure possesses particular value from the fact that, in his almost feverish determination to prove his right to the invention and conduct of the poem, he prints in it, besides several fragments, a complete first draft of what he originally called 'A Story of Pyramus and Thisbe,' diverging in many places from the finished text. The little story, which has elements of mild mystery, may be completed by saying that Dobson

Digitized by Google

and Webster had no further communication till they met accidentally in Edinburgh thirty years later, when Lord Alverstone greeted the poet civilly, but made no reference to the old charge of plagiarism.

A second period in the development of Austin Dobson was marked by his discovery in 1870 of the poets who were called Preraphaelite. It is characteristic of his cloistered habit of mind that the advent of Swinburne had left him almost untouched, while against 'Poems and Ballads' of 1866 he had felt a gentle but distinct repulsion. The publication of Rossetti's 'Poems,' on the other hand, deeply interested him; and he was thrown back upon a book which he now read for the first time, William Morris' 'Defence of Guinevere.' The result was to incite Dobson not exactly to a following of Morris, but to a treatment of romantic subjects in a manner wholly serious, and with a new refinement of language. The pieces which belong to this second period are dispersed through Dobson's collected editions, and their peculiar character has, I think, never been perceived. It is therefore worth while to consider them together, and to recognise a section of his poetical baggage which has been unduly ignored. The principal examples—all, I believe, composed in 1870 and 1871—are the 'Angiola' songs; 'André le Chapelain'; the elegy beginning:

> 'Him best in all the dim Arthuriad
> Of lovers of fair women, him I prize,—
> The Pagan Palomydes';

'The Virgin with the Bells'; and above all, 'The Death of Tanneguy du Bois,' with its haunting refrain:

> 'Ah! I had hoped, God wot,—had longed that she
> Should watch me from the little-lit tourelle,
> Me, coming riding by the windy lea—
> Me, coming back again to her, Giselle;
> Yea, I had hoped once more to hear him call,
> The curly-pate, who, rushen lance in rest,
> Stormed at the lilies by the orchard wall;—
> There is no bird in any last year's nest.'

Something of the same element is found in the slightly later 'Death of Procris' and the elaborate Spenserian study, 'The Prayer of the Swine to Circe.' These poems

Digitized by Google

mark a phase in the evolution of Austin Dobson's talent, a phase which was soon, and perhaps happily, abandoned. It was not encouraged by those whose judgment, in those early days, he respected, partly no doubt because they had grown to expect another class of poetry from him, but partly because what excited admiration of the Preraphaelites was an audacity, a fire, which Dobson had no wish to display. But his experiments in this direction, especially if extracted and put side by side, are interesting; and, now that the splendour and flame of the protagonists have subsided, perhaps there is more of the real pathetic romance of the 'Morte d'Arthur' about 'The Death of Tanneguy du Bois' than about the daring pastiche of Rossetti and Swinburne. However this may be, there can be no question that Dobson's brief excursion into Preraphaelitism was highly beneficial to his style. It freed him from 'vers de société.' It taught him the value of combining richness with simplicity, and the necessity of rejecting mere conventional verbiage. He marked his abandonment of it by a quaint burlesque, 'The Peacock on the Wall.'

He returned, with vigour refreshed, to his earlier manner, in which seriousness was invariably relieved by a smile or by a touch of gentle human indulgence. Some of the poems of this period will always be favourites with his readers. They include 'A Gentleman of the Old School' and 'A Gentlewoman of the Old School,' where the rivalry with Praed is patent, but where the challenge is as successful as it is deliberate:

> 'Patience or Prudence,—what you will,
> Some prefix faintly fragrant still
> As those old musky scents that fill
> Our grandams' pillows;
> And for her youthful portrait take
> Some long-waist child of Hudson's make,
> Stiffly at ease beside a lake
> With swans and willows.'

Here also is 'The Story of Rosina,' a poem of unusual length for Austin Dobson, founded on an incident in the the life of the painter, François Boucher:

> 'The scene, a wood. A shepherd, tip-toe creeping,
> Carries a basket, whence a billet peeps,

Digitized by Google

To lay beside a silk-clad Oread sleeping
Under an urn; yet not so sound she sleeps
But that she plainly sees his graceful act;
"He thinks she thinks he thinks she sleeps," in fact.'

The references here to Hudson, in 'A Gentleman of the Old School' to Reynolds, in 'Rosina' to the famous 'Panier Mystérieux'—references not forced upon the reader, but realised by those who look carefully under the surface of the text—mark the development of an element in Austin Dobson's work which was henceforth to be dominant above all others, namely, his acute sympathy with the art and life and literature of England and France in the 18th century.

All this time, his name was unknown and his initials observed by only a handful of readers. But in 1873, being in his thirty-fifth year, he ventured on a wider appeal. He published his first book, 'Vignettes in Rhyme,' dedicated to Anthony Trollope. The collection was preceded by a little epigram which was presently dropped and has never, I think, been revived. It is too graceful to be lost, and I venture to reprint it here:

'Go, little Book, on this thy first emprise;
If that thou 'scape the critic Ogre-land,
And come to where young Beauty, with bright eyes,
Listless at noon, shall take thee in her hand,
Tell her that nought in thy poor Master stirs
Of art, or grace or song—that is not hers.'

The volume, in fact, was laid at the feet of the Maiden of the Period, as we saw her in the annual show of the Royal Academy, or as she stepped, 'shod with neat balmorals, on the seaweeds and the corals' through the pages of 'Punch.' This element in the verse of Austin Dobson was never again to be so prominent as it was in 'Vignettes in Rhyme,' but it was always to exist, and it is useless to attempt to ignore it. He did not wish to ignore it. He said, late in his career, when the reaction against Tennyson was beginning to be rampant, that he himself was a Victorian, and proud of being one. He was many other things, but he was the Laureate of the Nice Young Girl, tall, fair, and serious, in white muslin and innocently anticipating the Eligible young Man. In less than fifty years we have passed so

Digitized by Google

completely out of the Mid-Victorian atmosphere, into an interest in the picturesqueness of horror and squalor, and into violent topsy-turvy ideals of morality, that the innocent world of fancy, as it flourished in 1873, has become almost inconceivable to young persons of vigorous mental ambition. It was a rose-coloured world, suffused with a transparent radiance of ideality, and founded, no doubt, more on an illusion as to what things should be than on observation of what they were. But in the incessant oscillation of taste from one excess to the other, there is probably but seldom a close relation to that primal truth, that realism, that reality, which is always the *fata morgana* of every genuine artist. May we not admit that, if Austin Dobson's girlish heroines, with

> 'still the sweet half-solemn look
> Where some past thought is clinging,
> As when one shuts a serious book
> To hear the thrushes singing,'

imperfectly interpret the emancipated womanhood of to-day, the horrors of 'Le Feu' and 'The Red Laughter' exploit life from the opposite side with equal inexactitude? Andreyev, in one of his dreadful books, says, 'I have seen many men, and all I saw bore the stamp of stupidity and madness.' It is no more 'realistic' to paint all men and women as types of the abysmal brute than to present them all as athletic angels. The pendulum of taste swings to and fro, and it is only Shakespeare and Jane Austen who remain permanently in favour.

Austin Dobson was not unconscious that his temptation lay on the side of the angels. He felt that he must always retain that bias, but he determined to counteract its ill effects by a more and more intense preoccupation with perfection of form. There are pieces in 'Vignettes in Rhyme' which do not from a technical point of view coincide with the writer's highest standard. Few poets have printed so few incorrect lines as Austin Dobson, but there are some bad verses in his first book, particularly in 'An Autumn Idyl.' He felt his tendency to sentimentality, and was conscious of the danger of a style which coquetted in a spirit of levity with the

Digitized by Google

tender passion. In order to preserve, what so many of his contemporaries missed, dignity in lightness and good manners in frivolity, he realised that he must preserve an impeccable correctness of form. He must write as Watteau painted, in the tenderest hues of rose-colour and grey.

At this juncture, I must ask pardon if I introduce a personal recollection. It was shortly after the publication of 'Vignettes in Rhyme' that I made Austin Dobson's acquaintance in circumstances which had some importance, perhaps, for us both. The late Radical politician, Mr Peter Taylor, for many years M.P. for Leicester, lived in a large house, surrounded by gardens on Campden Hill—Aubrey House, long ago destroyed. Here he and his gifted wife entertained on a considerable scale, and hither came many persons of romantic and exotic interest. Mazzini was among those who had haunted Aubrey House at an earlier time. He was a correspondent of a Pen and Pencil Club inaugurated by Mrs Peter Taylor, whose members met on stated occasions to read and exhibit to one another prose and verse, and drawings also, illustrating a theme suggested for each occasion by the amiable hostess. Mr and Mrs Taylor liked to encourage ingenuous youth, and I had the honour of being elected to the Pen and Pencil Club. I attended the meeting in April 1874, when I was gratified by seeing and hearing several persons more or less notorious in their day. I knew no one in the room, nor was the quality of the successive contributions of a very exciting character. But in due course a slim young man, with dark eyes beneath a fine Horatian forehead, rose and read a short piece, in a voice attractive in its modesty and distinction. This, a whisper told me, was Mr Austin Dobson, whose 'Vignettes in Rhyme' had recently attracted a good deal of attention and were believed to have been rewarded by an Olympian nod from the Laureate. As it happily chanced, I had just read that volume, with juvenile enthusiasm. But what greatly moved me was that I recognised (I alone, no doubt!) that the piece just read was a rondeau in the French form elaborately defined by Théodore de Banville in the 1874 reprint of his 'Petit Traité de la Poésie Française,' a book which—as we ultimately discovered—was exercising a remarkable

Digitized by Google

influence over several young English poets. The company presently dispersed, and I shyly ventured to address the author of the rondeau with the remark that I noticed he had kept to the rules of De Banville. He was extremely surprised, and I may dare to say extremely pleased. We wandered out into the night together, and, late as it was, we paced the streets in a kind of dream for hours, absorbed in our metrical discussions. As Dobson wrote twenty years later in what is one of the most perfect of his lyrics, already on that first evening,

'Much they talked of Measures, and more we talked of Style,
Of Form and "lucid Order," of "labour of the File."'

The association formed that night, and preserved unbroken for nearly eight and forty years, was so precious to me that I must dwell upon it a little longer. We met, of course, when we could; but in the very next year an accident threw us together in a wholly unanticipated way. I was appointed to the Board of Trade, and on my arrival who should be the first to welcome me but the poet of the rondeau? From this time forth, until Austin Dobson retired from the public service in 1901, he and I met practically on every weekday in the year when we were neither of us taking a holiday. I suppose it would be difficult to point to another literary association in the history of poetry more persistent or more unruffled. My only excuse, however, for mentioning it here is that it gives me a certain authority when I attempt to analyse the poet's intellectual character and to describe his imaginative habits. Almost at once I began to occupy towards him the attitude, and something much more than the attitude, of the famous old servant to Molière. From the first—and indeed in a measure this continued long after his retirement—he formed the practice of submitting to me all his compositions before he considered them as finished. Since, to continue the quotation began a moment ago,

'He who wrote the writing, as sheet by sheet was penned,
(This all was long ago, Sir!) would read it to his Friend.'

The statement is not an idle one. I believe that of all the innumerable verses composed by Austin Dobson from 1875 onwards there is not a single one now preserved

Digitized by Google

which was not recited or read to me, or submitted to me in its first draft. Of his prose the same cannot quite be said, perhaps, but I am at a loss to point to a single prose work, even, which was not read to me before it was sent to press. It must be expressly understood that I was not expected merely to admire, or in the first instance principally to admire, but to criticise textually with the utmost severity. 'Remember,' he once wrote to me, 'I depend on you to drive the harvest mice out of my standing corn!' I endeavoured, with the best of my ability, to act up to that responsibility, and I examined every line, weighed every adjective, shook my head over every inversion, with rhadamanthine severity. Dobson did not always, of course, accept my verbal censure, but he gave to every suggestion his patient attention; and sometimes three, or even four, drafts of a poem would be submitted to me before we were both completely satisfied. When I look back over nearly half a century, I am astonished to recall with what serenity, with what an absence of vanity or irritability, he received my verbal criticisms, which were sometimes, I am afraid, vivaciously expressed.

His next volume of poems, 'Proverbs in Porcelain,' which appeared in 1877, displays the result of the extreme solicitude for perfection which occupied him in these years. He now mixed a good deal in the society of those contemporaries whom he had not hitherto known, and in whose conversation he found stimulus and encouragement. He saw Andrew Lang, Robert Louis Stevenson, Frederick Locker, and Lord de Tabley (John Leicester Warren); it was with these rather than with the members of an elder generation, in whose company his temperamental timidity forbade him to expand, that Dobson most enjoyed companionship—with these, and with certain artists from whom he found that a personal sympathy radiated—Alfred Parsons, Edwin Abbey, George Boughton. In 'Proverbs in Porcelain,' which the careful reader has to examine in its original form, since the contents of it have long been dispersed in the numerous reprints of Dobson's poetical writings, in this 1877 volume will be found, I think, the quintessence of his genius. Nowhere else is he more completely himself, and this volume contained specimens

Digitized by Google

of every class of his finest production. It opened with a series of miniature dramas in rhyme, six groups in Sèvres, each as light as thistle-down and as subtle as a comedy by Marivaux. No one has excelled, in their own limited compass no one has equalled, these tiny masterpieces of sagacity and tenderness, enshrined in a form which is pure perfection, without a trace of effort or a whiff of the lamp. English literature, rich as it was, is permanently richer for 'Good Night, Babette!' and 'The Song out of Season.'

It is richer, too, for the studies in the humour and picturesqueness of the 18th century, which now began more and more to absorb the attention of the poet. His earliest important essay in this direction was 'The Ballad of Beau Brocade,' and I think that he never went further in the meticulous restoration of a forgotten social scene. This, however, recalls a portion of Austin Dobson's work to which I have not hitherto drawn attention, his prose, critical, historical, and biographical. This will be found to deal almost exclusively with the 18th century, that object of his incessant preoccupation. His activity as a prose writer is generally supposed to have been subsequent to his poetical successes, and so in the main it was; but it will probably come as a surprise to many readers of that universal favourite, the 'Four Frenchwomen' of 1890, to learn that the essays in this volume belong to Austin Dobson's youth, and were published successively in 'The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine' so early as 1866. He had the habit of recurring, over and over again, to his main themes. For instance, his final biography of Hogarth was published in 1898, but his earliest work on that painter dates from 1879. In a similar way, he made Richardson, Steele, Horace Walpole, Goldsmith, and Fanny Burney his particular property by dint of investigations which never ended. It is instructive to compare the original edition of his 'Life of Fielding' (1883) with the latest reprint, with its careful corrections and important additions. He never considered his work finished or the portrait ready to leave the easel; and this is perhaps the reason why, from a purely æsthetic point of view, his prose is rarely so satisfactory as his verse. In his 'Fables of Literature and Art,' which are among his most finished poems,

Digitized by Google

nothing is superfluous and every word in its place; in analogous studies of the 18th century in prose, the author's excess of conscientiousness makes him overload the page, by clogging it with instances and parentheses with which the reader could well dispense. This was the result of an unflagging severity of scholarship; but it did not always add to the reader's satisfaction.

The closest parallel between Dobson's verse and prose is to be found between his tales in rhyme, such as 'The Noble Patron' and 'The Squire at Whitehall,' and the most graceful of the volumes of essays called 'Eighteenth-Century Vignettes.' In both the Horatian influence is strongly marked; at his best he possesses, in fuller measure, perhaps, than any other English writer, the *Horatii curiosa felicitas*. This was not the result of accident or instinct, for it may be interesting for an ear-witness to record that, when Austin Dobson, after the publication of 'Vignettes in Rhyme,' was presented to Tennyson, that alarming *vates* inquired, in sepulchral tones, 'Are you a classic? Then become one! Read Horace every day of your life!' Dobson did not carry out this counsel quite to the letter, but with his customary docility in adopting good advice, he forthwith made a searching and prolonged study of the 'Odes' and 'Epistles,' a study the result of which upon his subsequent verse must be patent to the most careless observer, and may be traced upon his meticulous prose as well.

Little concerned with the vain racket of the life about us, Austin Dobson moved in a delicate world of his own, a microcosm where everything was fragrant and harmonious, and where the past and the present were mingled in the clearness of a rose-coloured air. The charm of his wit and the lucidity of his fancy were controlled by the scruples of a fastidious artist; and, when much that is violent has sunken into oblivion for ever, his writings may still float towards posterity on the stream of their purity and perfection.

EDMUND GOSSE.

Digitized by Google

Art. 5.—RIVER CONTROL IN MESOPOTAMIA.

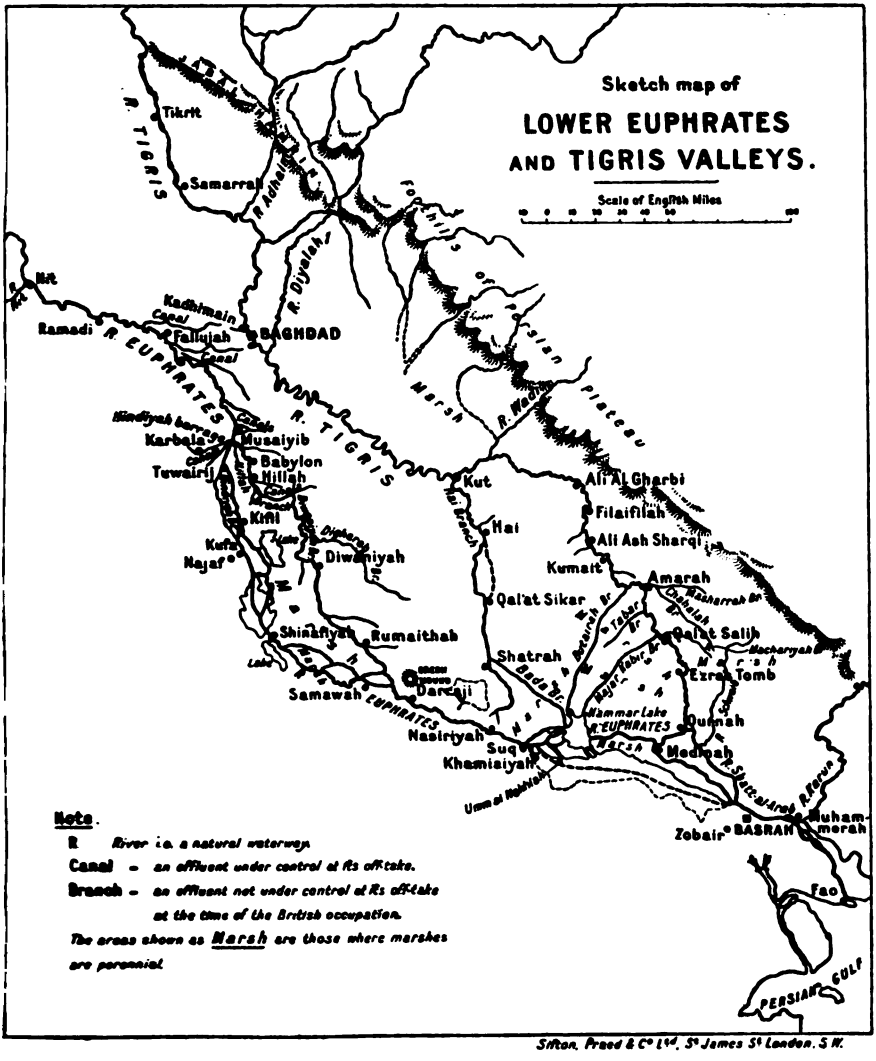
1. *The Irrigation of Mesopotamia.* By Sir W. Willcocks. Revised edition. Spon, 1917.
2. *Report on the Development of Mesopotamia, with Special Reference to the River Systems.* Simla: Government Press, 1917.
3. *The Euphrates as a Navigable Waterway, Samawah—Musaiyib.* Basrah: Government Press, 1918.
4. *Correspondence regarding Post-War Irrigation Policy in Mesopotamia.* Baghdad: Government Press, 1919.
5. *Brief Note on Irrigation Works in Mesopotamia up to November* 1918. Baghdad: Government Press, 1919.
6. *Report on the Administration of the Irrigation Directorate from February* 1918 *to March* 1919. Baghdad: Government Press, 1919.
7. *Note on Irrigation in Mesopotamia.* Baghdad: Government Press, 1919.

THEY that go down to the sea in ships, we are told, see the works of the Lord. Those whose navigation is confined to the waters of a river can scarcely expect admission to that privilege in the same degree. On the other hand, they see also the works of man and the interaction of human operations with the forces of nature. It is related, perhaps untruly, of General Townshend that, when beleaguered in Kut, his heart sick with hope deferred, he signalled to the commander of the relieving force, 'Are you sure that you are on the right river?' The intelligent traveller who sets out by river-steamer from Basrah for Baghdad will not have progressed far beyond Qurnah, where the Tigris and one arm of the Euphrates meet, before he is fain to ask himself the same question. For he finds the broad stately river rapidly dwindling to the dimensions of a ditch, and becoming even more tortuous as it does so, until, in the neighbourhood of Ezra's Tomb, about forty miles above Qurnah, it is no wider than the Ouse at Huntingdon, and certainly not so deep.

From a point a few miles below Ezra's Tomb to another, four miles below the little town of Qal'at Salih, a distance of forty odd miles, is the region known as the Narrows, which gave so much difficulty to our Expeditionary Force in the earlier stages of the campaign. It

Digitized by Google

is a series of constricted reaches, full of loops and bends, flanked on either hand by miles of impenetrable marsh. Above the Narrows, as far as the mouth of the Butairah



effluent, fifteen miles beyond 'Amarah town, the traveller in his progress notices the river once more expanding. Its course is rather more direct, and the marshes recede from sight. Above the Butairah they cease altogether

Digitized by Google

and give place to an arid plain, featureless as the open sea. From this point to Kut, 145 miles, there is a gradual enlargement in the size of the river-bed, though the stream, except in the flood season, does not perceptibly increase in volume. Sinuosity varies, but in places, such as the neighbourhood of Filaifilah, is very marked. Above Kut, from which the distance to Baghdad by water is no less than 220 miles, though at normal seasons the volume of the stream remains fairly constant, the channel grows steadily larger. The sinuosity is extraordinary, taking the form of series after series of extravagant loops, quite rhythmic in their alternation. In brief, the Tigris in its lower stages—the four hundred miles or so which it traverses between Baghdad and Ezra's Tomb—differs from all other rivers, except its twin-sister the Euphrates, in that—while it receives only two tributaries, one considerable stream, the Diyalah, just below Baghdad, the other the insignificant Wadi, below Kut—it throws off five huge effluents, besides innumerable minor channels, and the further it advances the smaller it becomes.

The Euphrates in the same portion of its length receives no tributary and reaches an even more pronounced state of degeneration. In two areas it breaks down altogether and ceases to be a river. The first of these is the tract known as Shamiyah, which lies between Kufa and Samawah. Here the Euphrates disintegrates into a thousand petty waterways, which are constantly shifting. They run between great marshes and huge stretches of open water, until near Samawah the remnants of the streams reunite, only to part again about 80 miles further down, in the Muntafik country below Nasiriyah, where they form the Hammar Lake. This lake is a waste of shallow water, even in the low-water season exceeding 1000 square miles in extent; and from it one arm comes to join the Tigris at Qurnah, while the other and far larger branch, known as the Qurmat 'Ali, enters the Shatt-al-'Arab just above Basrah. In the reaches immediately above Qurnah both rivers are considerably fortified by return streams from the marshes. But the water which comes back returns clear, having dropped its silt in the marshes, where also it undergoes an enormous loss through evaporation.

The present courses of both rivers are no doubt

Digitized by Google

recent, but their degeneration is no new thing. Archæological discovery, historical record, and Mesopotamian topography concur in testifying to the recurrence of similar conditions and to the uniformly capricious behaviour of the two rivers throughout the centuries since man first became a dweller in Mesopotamia. In more recent times we have glimpses of the same activities. It will suffice to quote two examples. In 1837 Colonel Chesney, of the Royal Engineers, searching for a mail-route between India and England, made a voyage of scientific exploration on the twin rivers. He took soundings wherever he went, and made accurate measurements of each day's run. In what are now the Narrows, Chesney records a depth of from 2 to 6 fathoms and a width of from 200 to 400 yards. He also speaks of 'high and well-wooded banks' in the same region. Moreover, the distance from Qurnah to Baghdad by water, as measured by Chesney, was less by 22 miles than it is now. This last difference, it may be noted, is chiefly in the reaches between Kut and Baghdad, and may no doubt in a large measure be ascribed to the action of Midhat Pasha, Wali of Baghdad, who in the early seventies dammed the Saklawiyah channel, which leads from the Euphrates above Fallujah to the Tigris opposite Baghdad and used to take off a large portion of the annual flood from the one river to the other. This well-intentioned act, designed to keep the capital from being flooded, caused incalculable damage lower down in the Euphrates, and by suddenly depriving the Tigris of supplies, to which its bed had adapted itself, caused the channel to shrink in capacity, rise in level, and increase in length.

To return to the Narrows—the late Mr J. G. Lorimer, I.C.S., for some years British Resident in Turkish Arabia, a singularly careful and accurate observer, writing in or about 1907, says of the Tigris:

'In the swampy tract from Qurnah up to 'Azair (Ezra's Tomb) there is a depth of not less than 12 feet, but some of the turns are so sharp that a vessel more than 220 feet in length could not negotiate them. In the marshes proper, from 'Azair to Qal'at Salih, the river is at its narrowest with a navigable channel of only 25 to 50 yards; in this section there is no place where a steamer of 220 feet could go about,

Digitized by Google

and two steamers cannot pass one another without one tying up to the bank. The channel here is shallow in a low river. The unsatisfactory character of this reach is due to the numerous canals—some of them 20 to 30 yards across at the head—between Qal'at Salih and 'Amarah town, which, after the river has lost nearly half its water above 'Amarah, absorb perhaps one-third of the remainder; conversely the improvement below the marshes is due, as already indicated, to the return of part of the water by circuitous courses to the parent stream. The channel through the marshes is deteriorating and has lost about one-fourth of its breadth during the last ten years. Above the marshes the depth and width of the channel are both as a rule satisfactory, and from 'Amarah town to 'Ali-ash-Sharqi there is always 8 feet of water even with a low river.'

The mention of eight feet of water as constituting a satisfactory river above 'Amarah proves that the shallow river, below Qal'at Salih, had a less depth; indeed, in 1915 our boats had to contend with depths of four feet and less in many parts of the Narrows. The measurements of our engineers, too, taken in 1915 and subsequent years, showed that the effluents were then taking considerably larger fractions of the total supply than those named by Mr Lorimer. In other words, the process of deterioration had continued after he wrote.

The contrast between this and the conditions depicted by Chesney as obtaining in the same region cannot fail to strike the imagination. As for the well-wooded banks of which Chesney speaks, we know how they became denuded. The wood went into the maw of Lynch's steamers, the pioneers of British trade. But Chesney also calls the banks high. How did they become low, as they now are, almost awash with the waters of the river at all seasons? There can have been no general subsidence of the country. The only alternative is that the river has silted up, and in so doing has raised its bed-level until its waters, even in the low season, are always lipping over the banks. Indeed, in this region the flood makes little difference to the size of the stream, though it affects enormously the area of the adjacent marsh. All the extra water that the flood brings, or nearly all, has already slipped out into the marshes before the river reaches Qal'at Salih, and the

Digitized by Google

residue remaining in the shrunken bed is in volume, though not in rate of flow, nearly constant.

The phenomenon above described is, I believe, unique. For we have here no ordinary delta such as many rivers, for example the Nile in Egypt, the Po and the Adige in Italy, have made for themselves in their last lap to the sea. On the contrary, the rivers of Mesopotamia, after disintegrating and reuniting many miles inland, pour the remnant of their waters into the Persian Gulf by a single mouth. The explanation of this peculiarity, though possibly not the whole explanation, is, doubtless, that given by Mr Lorimer. It is the effluents which have caused and are causing the disintegration of the rivers. But how come they to have this effect? For it is obvious that unless there were something peculiar in Mesopotamian conditions, the mere digging of side-channels out of the river bed would have no more serious consequences in the valley of the Tigris than it would have in the valley of the Thames. This peculiarity, as contrasted with the Egyptian Nile, is vigorously described by Sir William Willcocks in his book on the 'Irrigation of Mesopotamia,' though his *obiter dictum* on the growing of cotton has been falsified by subsequent experiment.

'The problems,' writes Sir William Willcocks, 'whose successful solution will restore Babylonia to its ancient prosperity are far more difficult of solution than those which faced the irrigation engineers in the Nile Valley. Of all the rivers in the world the Nile is the most gentlemanly. It gives ample warning of its rise and fall; is never abrupt; carries enough of sediment in flood to enrich the land without choking the canals; is itself free of salt; has its annual flood in August, September, and October, securing both summer and winter crops; traverses a valley with a climate mild enough to allow of Egyptian clover in winter and Egyptian cotton in summer; and flows between sandstone and limestone hills, which provide an abundance of building materials.

'The Tigris and Euphrates rise without warning; are always abrupt; carry five times the sediment of the Nile; have their annual flood in March, April, and May, too late for the winter and too soon for the summer crops; traverse a country where the temperature rises to 120 degrees in summer and falls to 20 degrees in winter, and where both Egyptian cotton and Egyptian clover are out of the question;

Digitized by Google

have a considerable quantity of salt in solution; and flow between degraded deserts of gypsum and salted marl. . . .

'The Tigris-Euphrates delta is strangely flat. Baghdad, removed 500 miles from the sea, is only 120 feet above sea-level. Opposite Baghdad the Euphrates is 25 feet higher than the Tigris. Between the two rivers runs a regular valley, across which are carried the giant banks of the ancient canals. Though the slope of the country longitudinally is very slight, the traverse slopes away from the rivers are one in a thousand, or five times as steep as those of the Nile Valley. If the Nile breaches its banks in flood, it can be brought back after the flood to its old channel without serious difficulty; while a very serious breach on the Tigris or Euphrates has been followed by the river completely leaving its channel and forming a new one miles away, after inundating the whole country. Such was Noah's flood in the early days of the world's history.

'In the Tigris-Euphrates delta we must never forget that we are in the country of Noah's flood; and as in antiquity, so to-day, the foundation on which will be laid the structure of Babylonian prosperity will be the protection of the country from floods; and the more thorough the protection, the more substantial will be the prosperity.'

The Mesopotamian rivers in fact, with their gentle longitudinal and steep transverse slopes, run upon causeways of their own making, as any one who takes his stand upon their banks may see for himself with the unaided eye. Other rivers, no doubt, do this in their deltas. But is the whole vast expanse of Mesopotamia south of Hit and Samarrah correctly described as a delta? And if not, why and how have the rivers behaved in so strange a fashion? Among the irrigation engineers who worked in the country during the British military occupation another explanation has been put forward. The following extracts are taken from a report by Major Walton, of the Indian Public Works Department, who was employed in Mesopotamia from 1915 to 1918:

'For the last six thousand years—or maybe more,' he writes, 'since irrigation of any sort was first practised in the country, the hand of man has been applied, not scientifically, but very unscientifically, to the rivers. It has been the continuous application of effort and not necessarily any sudden concentration that has brought about the present

Digitized by Google

state of things. . . . The instant the activities of man are suggested and his methods studied, there is not a phase in the rivers' behaviour that is not capable of a sound and reasonable explanation; but without this the caprices of the river[s] are inexplicable.'

Another officer of the Indian Public Works Department, Major Mackintosh, who was also employed for several years in Mesopotamia, gives in his report on the Hammar Lake area an admirable study of some of the methods employed in this 'very unscientific irrigation' and of the disastrous consequences. His facts are taken from close personal observation on the spot and extensive inquiries amongst the Arabs of the Muntafik confederacy. It is noteworthy that, though nearly a hundred years have passed since the Hammar Lake was first formed, the members of those tribes who were then flooded out still mark exactly where ran the boundaries of their now submerged tribal lands. To these they still refer as their *dirah* (tribal home), and they lead a semi-amphibious life in as close proximity to them as possible, all ready to pounce down on their ancient heritages (and as much more as they can get), should the act of God or man cause the waters to recede.

'In 1830,' writes Major Mackintosh, 'the Euphrates river flowed as a navigable stream from Nasiriyah to Qurnah. In the low-water season the contrary current at high tide was felt to just below Nasiriyah, and the tide swelled the river as far as Darraji, 40 miles further up-stream. In those days the river was doubtless of the character of the Shatt-al-'Arab of to-day; broad, deep, and slow-moving. Not much silt would be found in the water, as the supplies, then mainly coming down the Hillah branch, would drop their silt in the marshes between Rumaithah, Erech, and Nasiriyah; the balance, or Hindiyah supplies, being similarly strained clear in the Shinafiyah lake and the marshes between Shinafiyah and Samawah. Irrigation would be easy by cuts made anywhere through the banks into the low-lying basins on either side. As the Turks had apparently no settled policy with regard to the rivers, Arabs were allowed to encroach on its (*sic*) flood bed, fortifying these increases to their holdings with bunds [earthen banks] and by the planting of willows. Subsequent floods could therefore only relieve themselves by scouring out and enlarging the existing irrigation channels,

Digitized by Google

which had a relatively steep slope, so raising the water-level in the basins on either side as to flood valuable land.'

'The inundation difficulty was settled for the time by the Sa'dun, Nasir Pasha, builder of Nasiriyah and Wali of Basrah under the Turks, who built a bund (*circa* 1870) along the right bank of the river from Qurnah to Suq. He wisely confined his building to the right bank; growing on the left bank only rice, which, planted as the floods went down, throve on lands soaked by their overspill. His bund was successful in protecting a large area of land sloping down to a salty lake in the centre which evaporated surplus drainage. On this land barley, wheat, and rice were grown for the ten years or so for which the bund lasted. . . . While Nasir Pasha's bund finally failed, partly through Turkish neglect of maintenance after he had been exiled to Constantinople, and partly by excessive reduction of the Euphrates bed by "reclamation," there can be no doubt that a contributing factor was flood-spill from the Tigris also caused by "reclamation" at 'Amarah and the Narrows.

'In Chesney's time the Butairah was only a small canal, and that much of the flood now pouring out into the marshes . . . then passed down the Tigris is obvious from his description of the river at Ezra's Tomb as 300 to 400 *yards* wide and 6 to 10 *fathoms* deep . . . now 400 *feet* wide and 12 *feet* deep. Arab opinion indeed insists not only that the Butairah was responsible for the failure of Nasir Pasha's bund, but that its increased draw has dried up several old canal systems between Kut and 'Amarah, and materially reduced supplies down the Hai. Whatever the cause, the effect is to-day a sheet of open water some 60 miles long by 10 to 15 miles wide, fringed on either side by miles of swamps expanding and contracting with the seasons and the intensity of the year's floods.

'The bank of the old Euphrates can still be traced across the lake in a series of islands, but almost the whole of the land cultivated in Nasir Pasha's time is now under water. Portions of his bund remain, a short length still in use protecting the date gardens at Medinah and other lengths near Bani Said. Running parallel to the latter can be traced the old bed of the Euphrates, 450 feet wide, now completely "reclaimed" by the victorious Arab with his spade and willows, a great river destroyed for the sake of a few acres of land.'

The practice of 'reclamation' which has called forth the irony of Major Mackintosh is, in reality, only

Digitized by Google

unregulated riparian cultivation, perfectly legitimate up to a certain point, and not difficult, given a little supervision, to render wholly innocuous. Let the reader imagine himself a squatter on the banks of the Tigris or Euphrates and dependent for his livelihood on the capricious bounties of the great river. We will suppose him to be animated by the true Semitic desire for riches and virtuously resolved to create wealth for himself, instead of following a short cut and plundering his neighbour. We will further assume that he is in no fear of dispossession and that it is worth his while to improve. He will naturally decide to plant a date garden. Without a constant water supply the young suckers, which he will set out in quincunx formation, will perish miserably without taking root, and his labour will be in vain. The river is at his very door, but it is only for a few weeks in the late spring that the water lips his holding and irrigation by flow is possible. For the rest of the year some means of lifting the water to the land must be found. The squatter may be content with the primeval *karad* (bucket lift), worked by an ox or horse or mule, under his own immediate and unremitting superintendence. But if he is enterprising, as most Arabs are, he will mortgage his credit to the hilt and instal a pump worked by an oil-engine. In either case his procedure, so far as its effect on the river is concerned, is the same. He sinks a shaft somewhere on the riverward side of the flood-protection bank that guards his holding, and from it across the undulating silt and sand of the river bed he leads a channel along which the waters of the distant stream shall flow to his well-shaft. I say 'distant' advisedly; first, because the undertaking must be carried out in the low-water season, when the river bed is a world too wide for the shrunk stream; and second, because the squatter, if he has any choice at all, will be foolish if he does not select for the scene of his paradise a convex bend, where the risk of loss by erosion is small and the chance of accretion proportionately great. For on a bend—and both rivers consist mainly of bends—the deep-water channel hugs the concave shore. The spoil thrown up in connecting the shaft with the stream is naturally left *in situ*, where it forms a double rampart of varying, but often of considerable,

Digitized by Google

height, athwart the trend of the river. The flood comes, and its waters, almost solid with suspended silt, run a bright copper red. The rampart is in places washed away, but where it stands it forms an efficacious silt-trap. When the flood recedes, the level of the bed up-stream of it will often be found to have risen by several feet. Each year the process is repeated, till in time the squatter pegs out and fortifies his acquisition with a row of willows, and so *da capo*. This constant interference—for the squatter we have imagined is only one of many—interferes with the rhythm of the stream. What it gives to one bank it takes from the other. The opposite bank, *ex hypothesi*, is already concave; and on a concave bend the flood-protection bank, as is natural in a country where the population is sparse and distances are great, runs very near the edge of the river bed. With a little erosion it will be undercut, and the momentum of the stream, travelling in the direction of the last reach, will deepen and widen the gap with great celerity. A new door to calamity is opened on the opposite bank. But what of that? It is the affair of the people on that bank. Let them see to it! Our planter, with true oriental indifference, will quote piously from the Qur'an, *Allahu khairu 'l razikin* (God is the best of providers), and return to the watering of his plantation.

The question whether Mesopotamia from Hit and Samarrah southwards to the sea is correctly described as delta or not, is, therefore, no mere academic point of terminology. In so far as the rivers are in a true deltaic condition, any attempt to produce other conditions will have the forces of nature against it and will be prohibitively difficult and expensive. If, however, Major Walton and his supporters are right, Mesopotamian conditions, although they resemble deltaic conditions, are yet the outcome, not of natural causes, but of man's interference with nature acting through long ages and with the enormous leverage afforded by the difference in the rivers between low water and high flood. If this be so, the apparently deltaic conditions, not being due to natural causes, will disappear as soon as the interference ceases, or is scientifically regulated. In the one case, the scale is weighted against the engineer; in the other, in his favour.

Digitized by Google

Sir William Willcocks has rightly laid stress on the vital importance to Mesopotamia of protection against flood. But it is hard for any one without personal experience of the country to realise not only the importance but the immense magnitude of the task under present conditions. Some idea of it may be formed from the fact that, in the season 1918–19, more than two and a half million cubic metres of earth-work were put into flood-protection banks under Government supervision. Nevertheless, the floods of 1919 destroyed well over 100,000 acres of the spring harvest. To the toil of construction and the burden of vigilance during the flood season must be added the paralysing effect of uncertainty. A frail earthen bank is in many places all that stands between the harvest and ruin. On this bank, which may be many miles remote from the lands that it protects, wind and wave have full play. Rats burrow there and watchers sleep. Malice has to be reckoned with, as well as negligence. For by the furtive removal of a few clods an enemy can wreak irreparable mischief without serious risk of detection. Perhaps those who decry the Arab for a bad husbandman do not sufficiently take into account the conditions under which he labours.

One more quotation from the writings of Major Wilson, to bring home the difficulty, and we can then proceed to consider the remedy which that officer was, I believe, the first to suggest.

'Provided,' he writes, 'the Tigris channel were able to carry its floods at all places between Baghdad and Qurnah, the maintenance of the bunds along its margins would be greatly simplified, but unfortunately its flood capacity decreases as one descends from Baghdad. At 'Amarah its flood capacity is approximately 15 per cent. of that at Baghdad, whilst at Qal'at Salih it is only 8 per cent. This means that during a high flood 97 per cent. of the water passing Baghdad has to be turned out of the river, before Qal'at Salih is reached. Taking the high flood discharge at Baghdad as 250,000 cusecs (i.e. cubic feet of water per second), then the escapage amounts to 242,000 cusecs. In the provision of escapage from canals and rivers one expects and generally finds suitable works for controlling it, but in the case of the Tigris floods not ·5 per cent. is under the effective control of suitable works; the remaining 99·5 per cent. is

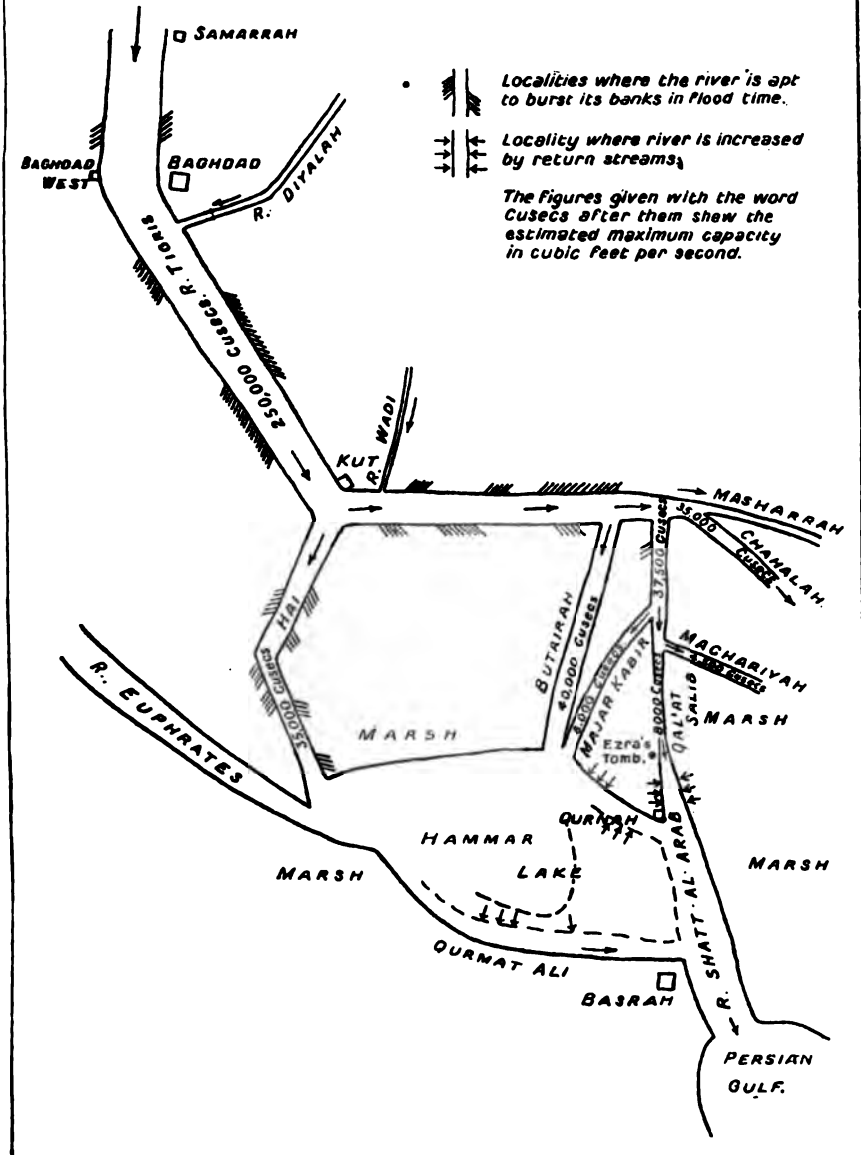
Digitized by Google

under no other restraint than that afforded by small marginal bunds. It is not suggested here that masonry works should therefore be built with the object of gaining control; the matter is merely put forward in this light in order to drive home the fact that to attempt the control of such an enormous quantity as 242,000 cusecs by means of earthen bunds is not of itself a prudent undertaking nor one to be persisted in. At the most, they are in the nature of a temporary but inefficient expedient and are as undesirable as they are necessary.'

Now for the remedy. To understand the prescription the reader should examine the accompanying sketch, in which are represented diagrammatically the conditions above described. For the sake of clearness all minor details have been omitted. It will be seen that, besides many places where the annual breaching of banks by the flood provides a ruinous relief, between Baghdad and Qal'at Salih the Tigris throws off five huge effluents. Of these the uppermost, the Hai, which is well above the region of the marshes, has a large sandbank across its mouth, which prevents it from flowing except at high flood. The other four are perennial, and each one of them takes, or until it was brought under control was accustomed to take, approximately half the water left in the river at the point of effluence. It was in the summer of 1916 that shortage of water in the Narrows compelled the military authorities, who were then solely dependent on the river for their line of communications, to take the first step. In the autumn of that year, amid the lamentations of the local Arabs and the head-shakings of many cautious souls, they built a dam across the mouth of the Machariyah channel, with a bye-pass letting enough water down to give drinking water to the local Shaikh and his people and to make navigation by *mashhuf* (a light skiff used in navigating the marshes) possible. One result, generally expected, the raising of the surface level in the Narrows, did not follow, and therefore it was at first supposed by some that the experiment was a failure. Navigating officers, however, began to find that they could get through with more deeply laden barges, and soundings taken in cross-sections of the river bed confirmed their story. The surface level did not rise, because the river was scouring out its

Digitized by Google

DIAGRAM
SHEWING REDUCTION OF TIGRIS RIVER.



Digitized by Google

channel. In point of fact the surface level has since been gradually falling; and, if the policy advocated by Major Walton be steadily adhered to, those who live may yet see the high banks spoken of by Chesney standing where they ought and confining the waters of the river to their proper bed.

In 1917, beyond systematic repair and restoration of the existing flood banks, nothing was done. The omission was deliberate. For if this policy, which aims at the restoration of what are believed to be natural conditions, is to succeed, it must work as nature works, gradually. The river must be given time to accommodate itself to one change, before another is attempted. It may not be out of place here to mention that the lugubrious predictions of the Arabs have been wholly falsified. It is true that in many areas where, before the Machariyah was dammed, rice was grown, that crop can no longer be cultivated. But, with the contraction of the marsh, new lands of at least equal value have emerged, and the Chahalah, the next effluent above the Machariyah, in spite of what was done to it in subsequent years, has proved fully equal to providing them with ample water. In addition, the area of lands suitable for wheat and barley has considerably expanded. So, on the whole, the balance, even of immediate advantage, is in favour of the experiment; and the local cultivators have been rewarded for their loyal acceptance of a measure which was wholly unpalatable to them. One drawback they do feel—the restriction of navigation for boats of draught in the old waterways. But this can be arranged by the provision of more generous bye-passes, or rather by the construction of locks beside the regulators. For it will be many years before the closure of the barriers during the rising flood will be feasible; and till this can be done, although the marsh area will contract, there will still be enormous quantities of spill, and the face of the country will not be radically altered.

In 1918 again, great attention was paid to the flood banks, and temporary wooden barriers were erected across the mouths of the Majar Kabir and Chahalah effluents. These were not put into operation until late in September, and so did not affect the rice crop, which

Digitized by Google

does not require watering after that date. These barriers were very successful in improving navigation through the Narrows in the low-water season. In 1919, a permanent solid masonry regulator was built on the Majar Kabir, and a permanent timber-pile structure on the Chahalah. In 1920, the construction of a timber-pile regulator, similar to that on the Chahalah, had been planned for the mouth of the Butairah effluent. This huge waterway takes out on the right bank about 15 miles above 'Amarah and runs through little-known regions to the Hammar Lake, which, indeed, as we have seen, is largely fed by it. Of late years the Butairah has been gaining at the expense of the river, whose place it might at any time usurp. Owing, however, to the disturbed state of the country, the plan was deferred. Its necessity has, however, been recognised by the provisional administration, which in July last voted the sum required for its construction—two and a half lakhs of rupees. The cost of these works, except the original dam on the Machariyah, which was built entirely by military labour, has been defrayed out of Mesopotamian revenues, and they have not cost the British taxpayer anything. The results already secured are remarkable. Writing in 1919, the Director of Irrigation was able to say that the carrying capacity of the Narrows had already been increased by 200 per cent. and the river had sunk into its bed with a resultant lowering of surface-water levels.

Thus, on the Tigris at least, the heaviest part of the work is done, but no time should be lost in dealing with the Butairah. The problems offered by the Euphrates are certainly not less difficult; but the chances of success can be better gauged after the engineers have seen the effect of bringing under control the Butairah, which carries so much Tigris water into the Euphrates area. Unrelaxing vigilance on both rivers, together with sustained effort in the maintenance of flood-protection banks, will still be necessary until the lowering of surface levels shall render banks on their present scale superfluous. Besides this, the Government of the country must, in practice, as well as in theory, reserve to itself the sole control of the rivers. The promiscuous digging of effluents must not be allowed to begin again; and *pari passu*, as each existing effluent is brought under

Digitized by Google

control or stopped, arrangements must be made for the irrigation, under control, of the areas now dependent on it. Riparian cultivation cannot, of course, be checked. On the contrary, it should be encouraged; but encroachment below high-flood level must be sternly banned, and those who dig cross-channels in the river bed below that level must be compelled to scatter the spoil which they throw up in so doing. All this can be done without serious inconvenience to those concerned; but whether the autonomous administrators will have the foresight to take these measures and the power to enforce them, can scarcely be predicted at present.

These desiderata are pleasing to the soul of the irrigation engineer, but are not an end in themselves. For what tangible reward can the people of Mesopotamia look, if the precepts are duly observed? In the first place, until the rivers are brought to a stable regimen, no comprehensive scheme of irrigation can be worked out and no attempt made to conserve for the use of man the superfluity of water which the annual floods bring. On the policy of river control, therefore, hangs the future of irrigation; and so also, over a large area, does the improvement of agricultural methods. To this policy the Arab may look for relief from his present burden of work upon the flood banks, as well as for the maintenance of a navigable waterway in the Tigris, and perhaps for the restoration of one in the Euphrates. At the same time, this policy will give back to the plough millions of acres which are now covered by unprofitable marsh; and some future Amir at no very distant date may be able to rehearse, with truth, the boast of Lugal-Zaggisi, King of Erech, who records in an inscription, dated *circa* 2800 B.C., how 'he caused the lands to dwell in security, he watered the land with waters of joy.'

EVELYN HOWELL.

Digitized by Google

Art. 6.—POLITICAL DEMONOLOGY.

1. *World Revolution: The Plot against Civilization.* By Nesta H. Webster. Constable, 1921.
2. *Weltfreimauerei: Weltrevolution: Weltrepublik.* By Dr Friedrich Wichtl. Munich: Lehmann, 1920.

To track down the paternity of political or social schemes is a somewhat thankless task. As we advance hot-foot, the horizon inexorably recedes; and instead of finding ourselves at grips with Marx, Saint Simon, or Rousseau, we perceive the wraiths of Morelly, Campanella, More, or even Plato. If we wish to apportion an exact measure of originality to these planners of utopianism or socialism, we find it hard to fix responsibility. Mrs Webster, realising this difficulty, has in her new book, 'World Revolution,' solved it by assuming that most of the social and democratic ideas that are troubling the world to-day 'went into action,' as it were, at the French Revolution; and therefore she only attempts to deal with the social and democratic experiments of the last hundred and forty-five years. In a short preface she puts forward her point of view.

> 'For the last hundred and forty-five years the fire of revolution has smouldered steadily beneath the ancient structure of civilisation, and already at moments has burst out into flame, threatening to destroy to its very foundations that social edifice which eighteen centuries have been spent in constructing' (p. viii).

The doctrine the book seeks to establish is that a world conspiracy for bringing about the destruction of civilisation was conceived by one Adam Weishaupt, who founded a secret sect of 'Illuminates' in 1776, sent emissaries to France to indoctrinate the lodges of the Grand Orient, and finally, through their instrumentality, precipitated the Great Revolution. Further, the sect is said to have manifested its power in the activities of Babeuf and the founders of the 'Tugendbund,' and to number Saint Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen, the leaders of 1848, Lassalle, Marx, Bakunin, the Nihilists and Bolshevists among its servants.

One of the defects of Mrs Webster's earlier book, 'The French Revolution,' was that she over-stressed and

Digitized by Google

exaggerated the part played by the Duc d'Orléans and Choderlos de Laclos in bringing about the catastrophe. In her new book she states that she has 'reconstructed' her view, and is now willing to 'attribute' to Illuminised Freemasonry the organisation she had formerly 'attributed to the genius of Choderlos de Laclos' (p. 30). In the use of this word 'attribution' we stumble on the great difficulty which attends the efforts of those who try to get at the back of events and to interpret their spiritual origin and significance. There are no proved tracks through this labyrinth. Certain pathfinders have ventured into the gloom and have brought back reports, sometimes confused, sometimes contradictory, always unverifiable, which adumbrate the theory that a secret conspiracy to overthrow Church and Throne was originated in the 18th century, or earlier, and still exists.

Mrs Webster, having steeped herself in the writing of Barruel, Deschamps, and Robison, has come to believe in the existence of an 'occult force, terrible, unchanging, relentless, and wholly destructive, which constitutes the greatest menace that has ever confronted the human race' (p. viii). With her it is a matter of faith rather than of proof; and it is in the spirit of the zealot that she blames both the 'official historian' whose business is 'not to inquire into causes, but to present the sequence of events in a manner unintelligible to the philosopher, and the 'interested historian anxious to suppress the truth about Illuminism.' The pages of accepted history, we are told, provide no clue; and it is 'only by recognition of the secret forces' that we can 'possibly hope to understand' the events with which she deals.

It is of course quite true that historians have chosen to deal with facts rather than with their psychological significance, but it is probably untrue that they have made this choice either through stupidity or self-interest. The fact is that the authorities on which any consistent and enduring theory of world conspiracy is founded are unreliable in the extreme. One could wish it otherwise, as the theory is a most plausible one; and, as Mrs Webster says, 'It is extraordinary how in the light of Illuminism many things that are happening to-day, which appear at first inexplicable, become clear as daylight' (p. 317).

Digitized by Google

The 'light of Illuminism' shows us, as Mrs Webster quotes with approval from a Catholic prelate, 'deadly Illuminated Freemasonry' as 'part of the system of revolutionary fraud invented and cast upon earth by Satan to compass the ruin of souls and the destruction of the reign of Jesus Christ' (p. 325). In the same light Christianity appears to her as 'a beleaguered citadel surrounded by the dark forces which have mustered for the supreme onslaught' (p. 325). The real protagonists, therefore, we must assume to be Christianity and Atheism, or Christianity and Satanism. Mrs Webster, however, encourages us to think that, 'if the people of our country will but realise the diabolical nature of the conspiracy at work amongst them, the powers of Hell cannot prevail against them.'

The theory supported by Mrs Webster makes of the world and of contemporary life an exciting battle-ground, but, before agreeing or disagreeing with her thesis, it is only proper to examine the authorities on which she mainly depends. Two of them, Barruel* and Deschamps,† are clerical writers, special pleaders against Masonry, which they regard as 'mother and nurse of all secret societies'; a third is Robison,‡ no less of a special pleader though a Protestant and a Mason. Barruel and Robison devote a good deal of attention to 'the most profound of all conspirators'—Weishaupt, the father of Illuminism; the one with the object of putting the Church on her guard, and the other with the design of warning English Freemasons of the recent dangerous developments in Continental Masonry. Barruel is careful to make Illuminism a graft on Masonry; Robison seems to believe it arises from Masonry. Robison's book appeared at the moment when Barruel was about to publish his third volume; he mentions Barruel's first two volumes in his appendix. Mrs Webster quotes impartially from Barruel, Robison, and Deschamps, and with their general views on the iniquitous character of secret societies she appears to be in agreement; but it is interesting, in view of the fact that she selects Robison's summary of Weishaupt's

* 'Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme,' 1797.
† 'Les Sociétés secrètes et la Société,' 1874.
‡ 'Proofs of a Conspiracy, etc.,' 1797.

Digitized by Google

doctrine to present to her readers, to see what Barruel's opinion of Robison's accuracy was:

'Sans nous connaître nous avons travaillé sur le même objet et pour la même cause; mais le Public va voir mes citations et celles de M. Robison, et le Public y trouvera des différences remarquables. . . . Je crains qu'on ne nous mette en opposition; je le crains, non pour moi mais pour la vérité, que ces oppositions pourraient décréditer' (III, 18).

In passages too long to quote, Barruel says he admires Robison's zeal more than his accuracy; that he states things to be true that Illuminist correspondence shows to be false; that he makes quotations from the writings of Illuminists which one could never find in their works, no matter how long one hunted. He adds that, in order to justify Robison's quotations, one would have to 'suppose a new book and new letters,' for he 'makes the Illuminists speak far more plainly and pointedly than they ever did in real life.' Heckethorn, in his 'History of Secret Societies' (vol. I, p. 316), deals harshly with both authors when he says that, owing to misquotation, 'their statements, in so far as they refer . . . to Weishaupt, are of very little value.'

In view of this destructive criticism of one authority on Illuminism by another, it is rather surprising that Mrs Webster should quote so rarely from Weishaupt himself and so frequently from Barruel and Robison's dubious summaries or translations of his *Originalschriften*. Deschamps' book, though for the most part founded on the labours of these two authors, is in a way more important than either, as in it he sums up the old Illuminist legends and—since the work was not published till 1874—is able to bring his narrative more or less up to that date. He tells us that, from 'a sense of duty,' he sets out to denounce Freemasonry as 'the fertile cause of crimes and calamities.' England he describes (p. 432) as 'cette source purulente de la Maçonnerie et de sa morale, foulant aux pieds la Catholique Irlande.' Although Mrs Webster is careful to discriminate (pp. 5, 6) in favour of British Masonry, her Continental authorities are not always—or should we say? are never—so particular, a fact which does not appear from any quotation in Mrs Webster's book. It

Digitized by Google

occurs to one to ask oneself this question: If English Masonry has been so grossly maligned by the clerical writers whose dicta upon it this author ignores, what grounds have we for believing them when they deal in similar terms with Illuminism, its doctrines or its votaries? It is possibly from Deschamps' book that Mrs Webster derives her conviction that Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier, the members of the German Union, and the later Tugendbund, were all Illuminates. Zaccone and other writers on Secret Societies hold the same belief. Viewing human society in the flickering 'light of Illuminism,' it is perhaps natural for Mrs Webster, after steeping herself in this literature, to believe that Lassalle, Marx, and Bakunin all belonged to the 'formidable sect,' and to recognise in Mr Hyndman and Mr Bernard Shaw their coadjutors or dupes.

Most people realise to-day that the French Revolution was no thunderbolt from the unknown, and agree that the lodges of the Grand Orient in France were in the 18th century working in a political sense. There were some seven hundred Lodges of various rites in existence before the Revolution, but it is impossible to form even an approximate estimate of the number of their members. It certainly was large, though the million adherents claimed by the Lodge 'Candour' alone would appear to be a great exaggeration of fact. Like the Encyclopædists, the Lodges probably played a large part in preparing men's minds and hearts for Revolution. Thousands of persons unable to form a political judgment for themselves were awakened to a sense of responsibility for the ordering of society through the agency of the Lodges. The Brotherhood of Man became a popular and living doctrine, and reconciled many to acquiesce in a subversion of society which otherwise they would have combated; for men, after all, are profoundly idealistic, and will endure and execute terrible things to bring about some imaged good.

The end of the 18th century saw the triumph of rationalism and the introduction of machinery and of industrialised life; even without the help of a 'world conspiracy,' great changes must of necessity have taken place, for feudalised institutions had somehow to be transformed into the modern State. Owing to the Revolution

Digitized by Google

of the 17th century and other causes, England had proceeded a long way in this direction, but in France no step had been made, for the government of the country was still an absolute monarchy; the nobility, clergy, and officials of the Third Estate were practically exempt from the burden of taxation, which fell on those least able to support it; and in one reign the expenses of government had risèn from twenty millions to over a hundred millions.*

In spite of Mrs Webster's conviction that the French Revolution was an unnecessary catastrophe brought about by the Illuminati, no country is likely to remain quiet in which the ordinary farmer is mulcted of 82 per cent. of his income in taxes and dues.† Mere reforms in Mrs Webster's sense, 'concessions by the King' or by 'an aristocracy far from intractable,' could not meet the case, for the force of thought had already sapped the structure to which reform was to be applied. We must not be persuaded by Mrs Webster to forget that a great deal of idealism went to the making of the French Revolution. The democratic watchwords, Liberty, Fraternity, Equality, conjured up in men's minds a radiant Utopia, for the realisation of which any sacrifice was justified. As a matter of history, we know that these ideals were found to be mutually destructive in practice; the harmony that seemed to exist in the Lodges became the conflict of the Clubs. We ourselves live in a day of utter disillusion; and, if it is difficult to call up or even vividly to remind ourselves of the ideal aims for which the volunteers of 1914 offered themselves gladly to death, how much less can we realise the uplift of heart that inspired those architects of a new world in which privilege and injustice should be eradicate? We have to face the fact that it is the tendency of democracy to jump forward in sanguine onrushes, and then to fall back in dismal uninspired reactions, and to remind ourselves constantly and above all things that its only corrective is experience.

Secular experiments in Communism have shown Liberty and Equality to be incompatibles, and have resulted in failure mainly because men are what they

---

* Acton, 'Lectures on the French Revolution,' p. 1.

† G. L. Dickinson, 'Revolution and Reaction in Modern France,' p. 5.

Digitized by Google

are and not what they ought to be. Communistic schemes can only work when men are uniformly trained to be what they ought to be. Devotion to a religious ideal alone enables men so to subordinate individual caprice and passion as to live in harmony and equality with others. If religious motive is absent, any communistic authorities worthy of their creed must inevitably wish to put babies into official nurseries and girls of marriageable age into state harems, and allot them to men by rotation, since beauty must have no unfair advantage over ugliness. All the schemes which Plato, Weishaupt, Fourier, and others have fathered for breaking the link between mother and child and for the communisation of women are but recipes for rooting out individualism, which at the bottom is the source of inequality. No further proof is required of the absurdity of lay communism than this, that all that is best in human nature has to be frustrated and suppressed in order to call into existence that grim vacuum the Communist State.

There is nothing really to be afraid of in such schemes as these, provided they are put before a nation with a solid groundwork of education and civilisation behind it and practical experience of self-government. Russia fell an easy prey to the ideologist because it was in our Western sense uncivilised, uneducated, and without responsible self-government. Like France a hundred and forty years earlier, it was stationary under institutional government instead of progressive under constitutional government.

In a chapter entitled 'The Growth of Socialism,' under a sub-title headed 'The Philosophers,' Mrs Webster deals in true modern propagandist fashion with Owen, Saint Simon, Marx, and others. Lecky, in 'Democracy and Liberty,' covers the same ground as Mrs Webster, but does so from that dispassionate standpoint which gives to his historical work its element of permanent value as a contribution to human knowledge. It is difficult to think of Robert Owen, that champion of factory laws and promoter of Montessori methods, as an Illuminist; but Mrs Webster 'attributes' Owen's objections to Christianity to his being 'secretly' a disciple of Weishaupt. 'By no other means,' she says, 'can his campaign of militant atheism be explained. . . . It is

Digitized by Google

easy to see whence he derived his theories.' With the object, one supposes, of proving him a Communist, she goes out of her way to deny that he founded the co-operative system, and states that this was done by the Rochdale pioneers in 1844. Whether Owen founded the system which eventually proved workable or not, a London Co-operative Society was started in 1824, where 'Owenites' disputed with J. S. Mill and others. Owen took part in seven co-operative congresses between 1830 and 1834, and at the very least had a great effect in stimulating the movement in this country. Some seven hundred small co-operative societies were started in England before 1844, but they vanished, partly because they were run on the credit system, and partly because of the business ignorance of the men who ran them. As one reads Mrs Webster's account of these experimenters, a disagreeable feeling comes over one that she cannot bring herself to say anything good of any one she believes to be an Illuminate. Here is an example. Saint Simon is described as a man of 'unbalanced brain,' who early 'threw himself into wild excesses,' led 'the life of an adventurer of gold and glory,' but after a while, 'weary of orgies,' turned his attention to the regeneration of the world. She states but half the case; for who would gather from this summary that Saint Simon had fought with distinction in five campaigns of the American War of Independence, or that he had commanded for a short time a French regiment, or, indeed, that he had conceived the brilliant idea of driving a canal through the isthmus of Panama? Mrs Webster 'attributes' Illuminism to Owen, because his atheism can be accounted for in no other way; and to Saint Simon because, 'faithful to the directions of Weishaupt,' he set out to prove in his book 'Le Nouveau Christianisme' 'that his system was simply the fulfilment of Christ's teaching on the brotherhood of man' (p. 105).

As a matter of cold fact, Saint Simon clearly realised, in spite of his unbalanced brain, that the social organisation of the Middle Ages—the product of an authoritative Church and the Feudal System—was crumbling, as an outworn building crumbles, to decay, and that the prime task of thinkers was to rebuild society in the interests of the workers. He dreamt of a federated Europe, an

Digitized by Google

International Parliament, a League of Nations—some of us do so still; but Mrs Webster dismisses him and his dreams as merely 'a variation of our old friend Babouvisme.' But was Saint Simonism merely this? Babeuf, too, was mad, far madder than Saint Simon, and was the first, in an age when privilege was the only enemy, to introduce Socialism proper into politics. He proposed to transfer all property to the State, which in itself made testamentary disposition impossible. He wished to prohibit foreign trade and so to organise domestic industry as to make it sufficient for the necessities of the nation. Dress, food, lodging were all to be regulated under his scheme, which was to be inaugurated by a massacre and the cancellation of all debts. Babouvism, like Bolshevism, was Communism introduced by confiscation and maintained by despotism. Saint Simonism differs from Babouvism in advocating peaceful methods of transition, progressive increase of death duties, the gradual conversion of private to public property; and it is this scheme that has influenced indirectly the current of modern thought.

Mrs Webster evidently does not hold with the dream that enthralled so many 18th-century idealists—the Perfectibility of Human Nature. People who base schemes on such an assumption may be mad, but they are not always bad; and that is where one joins issue with Mrs Webster. To drag Christ in (p. 105) to prove 'the fallacy' of such a 'delusion' as perfectibility, or the solidarity of labour, seems rather unnecessary and beside the point. It is surprising to learn that lessons of such far-reaching importance were embodied in the simple parable of the servant forgiven a debt by his master.

According to Mrs Webster, it is not only the social reformers who are mad or rather bad. The German patriots of the 18th and 19th centuries were also, it appears, Illuminates. 'The German Union,' says Mrs Webster, 'was only the Illuminati under another name.' Now Bahrdt, the founder of this nationalist and rationalist society, was also said by Barruel and Robison to be an Illuminate; but Heckethorn (I, 316) says that these two authors 'not only mistranslated many passages taken from Bahrdt's works, but have, evidently intentionally, so twisted others to their own purpose—that of abusing

Digitized by Google

their author—that their statements as far as they refer to Bahrdt . . . are of very little value.' Mrs Webster goes on to say that the Tugendbund and the Burschenschaft, by means of which German patriots hoped to revive the national spirit and rebuild their country after the *débacle* of Jena, 'were started on much the same lines as the Illuminati'; that the doctrines of the Tugendbund 'were those of Clootz and Marat'; and that they developed into a further order known as the German Association, Masonic, and therefore subversive in character. The question that occurs to one is: Did Mrs Webster merely take Deschamps' word for all this, or did she investigate the matter independently and come to the same conclusions? It is surely as sorry a travesty of truth to state that societies with such admittedly different aims are identical in inspiration, as to declare that 'the national sentiment latent in all German hearts' could (in 1809) be appropriated by Illuminists to overthrow all powers and nationalities? Surely Mrs Webster has lost all sense of relativity, and is projecting the future back into a past, transformed to meet her intuitive anticipation of the needs of the present day. Relentlessly, however, she goes on to draw a moral from her tale. 'It is here that for the first time we can clearly detect the connexion between Prussianism and the secret forces of World Revolution' (p. 83); and further, the 'connexion between Prussianism and Illuminism can therefore be detected from the beginning, but with the Tugendbund appears in the clear light of day' (p. 85).

But we are not at the end of the plot yet. Mrs Webster infers—and in this she is in agreement with her forerunners—that a German, or rather Illuminist, 'conspiracy of history' has existed to this day, which 'through the instrumentality of such agents as Carlyle' maintained 'the prestige of Frederick the Great in order to smooth the path for his successors' (p. 84). No great mental agility is required of us to draw an inference bearing on the war of 1914; but we are perhaps entitled to inquire whether, if that war had not taken place, we should have found that sentence in print to-day.

If one were a psycho-analyst one would be disposed to hazard that three leading complexes lie half-dormant in Mrs Webster's sub-conscious mind, which impel her in

Digitized by Google

her selection of facts and the interpretation she puts on them. The first idea is that social reformers are mostly as bad as they are mad; the second idea is that they are the conscious or unconscious tools in a vast secular conspiracy organised by unseen beings or Illuminati; the third idea is that these unseen ones are probably Germans, and possibly, though not always demonstrably, German Jews.

Mrs Webster in her 'French Revolution,' showed symptoms of a tendency to manufacture prejudice against Jews; and in her new book this tendency is considerably developed. Our minds are prepared for the ingemination of anti-Semitic ideas by being told that 'the years 1781–2 were remarkable for the emancipation of the Jews' (p. 19); that 'eight years before the Revolution the programme in favour of Judaism was sent out by Prussia'; that there was a 'wave of pro-Semitism' during those years. Mrs Webster says that it was decided to admit Jews to Masonic Lodges in 1782, and that the headquarters of 'Illuminised Masonry' after that date was fixed at Frankfort, 'the stronghold of Jewish finance.' So far as we know, there was no Jew behind the French Revolution; but Mrs Webster, citing a passage from Prudhomme, dealing with their emancipation in 1790, says, 'What mysteries of iniquity would be revealed if the Jew, like the mole, did not make a point of working in the dark! . . . Jews have never been more Jews than when we tried to make of them men and citizens' (p. 92). Then, after quoting a sentence from Joseph de Maistre to the effect that the Jews were playing an active part in Illuminism in 1816, she writes, 'We have *seen* their mole-like working below ground during the first French Revolution *suspected* by Prudhomme' (p. 160). Barruel was not aware of these burrowings; and, if we may presume to judge his views from a sentence in his book, even he would not appear to believe that the emancipation of the Jews constituted any real danger to society.

'Je crois presque moi-même que la doctrine secrète du Christ, ainsi que je l'explique, avait pour objet de rétablir la liberté parmi les Juifs. Je crois même que la Franc-maçonnerie n'est pas autre chose qu'un Christianisme de cette espece' (III, 286).

Digitized by Google

It is untrue to say that 'the Jews have always formed a rebellious element in every state.' The Jews are individualists, no believers in the doctrine of the natural equality of man; they are conservative, law-abiding, acquirers of property; and it is irrational to assert that under any government by which they are equitably treated they should prove a subversive force. They are much more likely to prove a reactionary and tyrannical one. In England, where they have been firmly established for centuries, they have never proved subversive, unless the fact that they financed Cromwell may be taken as proof of their rebellious mind. Jews certainly had a great deal to do with the revolution of 1848 in Germany; but then in that country they were not emancipated, and after 1848 there was no talk of rebellious Jews in Germany. Even Lassalle, who took a leading part in the rising, became a loyal citizen of Prussia.

On the other hand, the persecuted Jew is a danger in any State, as Russia has shown us in the recent past. Before the war the Jews of Russia were subjected to the capricious despotism of the Tsar, his ministers, and the police. The restrictions placed on Jews in Russia were in themselves enough to make revolution there inevitable. By the way, Mrs Webster seems to be unaware of what happened to the Jews in China. The absence of resistance to them in that country led to their being merged in the population. China, in fact, absorbed the Jews by refusing to persecute them at any period.

Jews, it appears, are 'the *chiffoniers par excellence* of the world.' Marx's work in the British Museum is described as that of 'a veteran Jewish rag and bone-picker.' He 'was an impostor from the beginning.' 'Posing as the prophet of a new gospel, he was in reality nothing but a plagiarist . . .' pillaging freely 'from all the earlier Socialists' (p. 169). Marx, as every one knows, set out to discover what is the economic law that governs society. Mr Hyndman, who knew Marx very well, says in his 'Recollections,' 'It is a great mistake to imagine that Marx had any desire to belittle his obligations to his predecessors, or to deprive them of any credit that was their due.' His main object was so to synthesise the work of those predecessors as to discover the formula that reveals the economic law already alluded to.

Digitized by Google

Marx's fundamental ideas are simple, though his style is turgid and his detailed analyses hard to follow. Modern Capitalism, according to Marx, exploits the labourer by getting possession of the 'surplus value' of his services, i.e. the amount produced by him over and above his wages, which are regulated by 'the iron law.' Marx traces the historical development of Capitalism, and attributes to it a tendency to concentrate power in fewer and fewer hands. Thus he claims that the growth of Capitalism reduces the number of Capitalists, and indirectly makes the producing class or Proletariat self-conscious. His view is that the Proletariats of the world must organise in their own interest and seize the means of production in order to do away with the exploitation of Labour by Capital. In his scheme Mrs Webster detects Illuminism once again, this time in the form of Pan-Germanism; and it seems to resolve itself to this, that, if the Proletariats of the world submit to having their thinking done for them by Germans, they will contribute to the German domination of the world.

'Spying' Illuminates and 'spying' Masons is a game that two can play at; and, though Mrs Webster and some of the writers in the 'Morning Post' may discern in every German activity a move in a secret conspiracy for World-Revolution or World-Domination, Dr Wichtl, thinking on parallel lines in Central Europe, sees in every British activity a diabolically clever move in a plot of British World-Domination. His book, 'Weltfreimauerei: Weltrevolution: Weltrepublik,' deals with the revolutionary activities and ultimate objective of Continental Masonry. In England alone, he says, has Masonry become institutionalised in support of the State; but this, he points out, does not prevent England from promoting revolutionary activity in other States. Much of the greatness of Britain, he says, is admittedly the work of Freemasons. Edward VII derived all his power from Masonry. Masons worked unwearyingly through Chamberlain to draw the Empire more closely together; the growth of the Colonial dominions during the last fifty years is their work; but England's goal is not achieved, for her aim, or rather 'the aim of the Highest Grand or World Lodge, is the Domination (*Vorherrschaft*) of the entire world.' In support of this

Digitized by Google

theory Dr Wichtl makes 'Brother Cecil Rhodes' responsible for a passage in a speech in which he prophesied 'that all Africa, the Holy Land, the Euphrates Valley, all South America, all the Islands of the Great Ocean, the Dutch East Indies, the coasts of China and Japan and the United States of America, shall become English.' 'Brother Lord Kitchener' is said to have declared in 1911 that 'the boundaries of the English realm in Europe should not be the Channel but the line of the Meuse' (p. 223). The author is careful to point out, as proof of these statements, that Mr Lloyd George has made good a part of the scheme by annexing the German Colonies, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and the Holy Land!

Germans profess to see as much danger in England as ever England saw in Germany. According to Dr Wichtl, English plots are world-wide; England supported revolutions in the old days under Palmerston and Gladstone; and she has continued doing so in Portugal, Brazil, China, Persia. 'What rôle the Brothers Buxton played in the Balkans is so well known that we need not examine it in detail here!'

According to Dr Wichtl (p. 174), it appears that there is a mysterious bureau in Southend, financed by the British Government to the tune of 5,000,000*l.* a year, and run by an officer with the improbable name of Major Susley. From this bureau, we are told, financial arrangements were made at various times for attempts on the life of Jaurès, Witte, the King of Bulgaria, Sir Roger Casement, and possibly, but only possibly, of the Serajevo victims. Dr Wichtl reminds us that a price of 30,000*l.* sterling was set on the head of Charles Edward Stuart by the British Government of that day; and therefore it will not come as a shock to any one to know that Lord Kitchener, carrying on the British tradition, set a price of 20,000*l.* sterling on Talaat Bey's head (p. 175). In the same paragraph we are told that Lord Kitchener was fêted as a pattern Mason by the Grand Lodge of England, after he returned from the *Massenmorde* of women and children in the South African concentration camps. The paragraph ends by inquiring what difference can be discerned between the Serbian assassins (*Mordbuben*) and English Freemasons.

There are evidently people in Central Europe who

Digitized by Google

like reading this kind of book, as it has gone into at least five editions, just as there are people in England who like reading about the criminal conspiracies of Jews and Germans. It probably comforts Germans to be told that the European War was a Freemasons' war; that its point of departure—assassination—was the work of Masons; and to learn that

'in a weak moment General Townshend blurted out (p. 227) that he had attended secret war councils between English, French, Belgian, and Russian plenipotentiaries held with the object of destroying the German realm; that England had pledged herself to land 150,000 men in Belgium during the first week of the war, and to invade the Rhine Provinces with the Belgian army, . . . that the Boers had promised to seize German South West Africa . . . and that Maubeuge had been filled with English and French ammunition in 1918.'

Dr Wichtl, like Mrs Webster, holds no brief for the Jews, and points out, for what it is worth, that a fifth of the Masons of England are Jews, and that the 'Times' has the Freemasons' sign in mosaic over its front door. However ridiculous Dr Wichtl's stories and opinions may appear to us, no doubt there are people in Europe who believe every statement in his book, just as there were people in England who believed that the 'Protocols' of the Learned Elders of Zion were really what they purported to be, i.e. the minutes of the Secret Jewish Directory held in Paris at the end of the last century. Mrs Webster, in 'World Revolution,' recognised that they probably emanated from some secret society at the end of the 18th century; and some weeks after her book was published the 'Times' correspondent traced them back to a work published in 1867. But it is probable that they are far older in origin.

Every one who has a thesis to advance is inclined to weight the scales. As we have seen, Dr Wichtl does so to a preposterous extent; and, although Mrs Webster does so in a far less degree, one is astonished to find that, in order to support her statement that the German revolutionaries of to-day are the lineal descendants of Weishaupt, she refers her readers to the authority of Dr Wichtl (p. 311), as if to a serious writer on World-Freemasonry and World-Revolution and World-Republic! It

Digitized by Google

is an insult to the intelligence of any reader to ask him to accept a statement made on Dr Wichtl's authority.

'World Revolution' is a book of half-truths magnified into whole truths by 'attribution' and innuendo. The author's tendency in her 'French Revolution' was to make her case too complete; and the same tendency is observable in her second book. There certainly were societies working before the Great Revolution to bring about the Brotherhood of Man; there certainly has been a very long Republican tradition in Europe; and there certainly have been secret communistic societies in existence at all times. There have always been Jews working for the capitalist system in countries which befriended them, and working against the State in the countries that persecuted them; but it is very difficult, if not impossible, to build up a four-square edifice of world conspiracy out of these elements and by these methods. The edifice is vulnerable at a hundred points. There may be a secret German-Jewish organisation working for world control at Frankfort, with a G.H.Q. in Moscow; but Mrs Webster has not convinced us of its existence or of its efficiency.

It can do nothing but harm to try to prove that all social unrest is artificial in character, or that, if social grievances and evils exist, they have been deliberately brought about by the 'Hidden Hand' in order to stir up revolt against throne and altar. The best answer to these charges is that offered by Mrs Webster herself, when she says it never occurs to the foreign agitator that the fact of England being a free country might have something to do with the difficulty of rousing in it a spirit of rebellion; that in a country where reforms are in progress revolution can make little headway. In the words of Zenker: 'England possesses no anarchism native to the soil.'

UNA POPE-HENNESSY.

Digitized by Google

Art. 7.—WILLIAM ERNEST HENLEY.

The Works of William Ernest Henley. Five volumes Macmillan, 1920–21.

SPEAKING of Byron, Henley says that he 'was not interested in words and phrases, but in the greater truths of destiny and emotion. His empire is over the imagination and the passions.' As a critical judgment this is far less shrewd than was common with Henley, but it is suggestive in relation to his own work as a poet. Henley was a remarkable figure in the literary world of his day, moving in no scholarly seclusion, but coming out into the open field of journalism, and bearing himself always with spirit and dignity. The best of his work is a durable contribution to the finest kind of popular criticism, vivid, far from unlearned, in close touch with the ordinary and confused affairs of life. On any given subject he might have to yield at points to the specialist, but few men have covered so wide a range with so warm an understanding and with a mind so well versed in the evidence of the case. It is as a critic that he will be remembered, and it is of his critical work that there is most to be said. But he produced a good deal of creative work, and, in common with most writers who work in both kinds, he no doubt hoped that it was in this that he came to his best achievement. So that, although on the whole it seems likely that this side of his expression will be the first to fade, it cannot be passed by without consideration.

'He was not interested in words and phrases, but in the greater truths of destiny and emotion.' This, in the last analysis, is true of Henley as a poet. He would have accepted the judgment with pride; and that he would have done so is indicative of his real weakness. When he adds that Byron's empire was over the imagination and the passions, he says more than justly can be put in for himself. Henley's poetic world was not that of passion and imagination, but that of clear-sighted morality, which was sometimes transfigured by indignation. It was in this world that he moved as a master in a great deal of his critical work. But it was a world that was, as it always must be, incomplete as an environment for rich poetic creation. In passing, it may be

Digitized by Google

remarked that it merely is not true to say of Byron that in his great poetic moods, of which for all his failures he had as many as most poets, he was not interested in words and phrases. Byron knew, as in practice Henley did not, that, while it is passion and imagination that must condition the poetic faculty, the only possible consummation of that faculty comes through the most exact and disciplined ordering of words and phrases.

Henley brought to his poetry many beautiful qualities. He had real courage, he had a great-hearted tenderness, he hated Pecksniffs and impure Puritans; he was, in short, a very chivalrous man, with rare intellectual gifts. But he did not perceive that merely to be these things, while it might do anything else for you, could not make you into a poet. Every now and again this fine moral impetus in his being would move with such force as to achieve something which remains memorable and beyond the reach of any but poets of the most indisputable magic. Such pieces as 'Matri Delectissimæ' and 'On the Way to Kew,' and the well-known 'Out of the night that covers me,' and 'Or ever the knightly years were gone,' are good things for any man to have written. Coming from the finer airs of Herrick or Marvell or Keats, our minds may not often go to Henley, but at other times we find ourselves recalling,

> 'Out of the night that covers me,
> Black as the Pit from pole to pole,
> I thank whatever gods may be
> For my unconquerable soul . . .

or

> 'Or ever the knightly years were gone
> With the old world to the grave,
> I was a King in Babylon
> And you were a Christian Slave . . .

and we do so with a pleasure that we do not question. But Henley very rarely came to this excellence in his verse. The great body of it suffers from the fatal defect of having been subjected to no emotional selection, a defect which Henley very thoroughly understood when considering the work of other men. The sequence of Hospital sketches, for example, is no more than brilliant journalism. Brilliant journalism in its place is all very

Digitized by Google

well; and, when a man aiming at it accomplishes it, all credit is due to him, but you cannot pass it off as poetry. These poems, one feels all the time as one reads them, are as much an accident as the occasion of Henley's being in the hospital at all. It is no case of carefully selected emotion being projected through an occasion that shall give it final form, as it seems to the poet; it is, rather, a vivid observation catching up this, that, and the other fragment of casual event and setting it down, not with imaginative but merely graphic power. The tranquillity which, as Wordsworth pointed out, is the condition in which emotion must be recollected for the creation of poetry, is precisely the condition in which the poet works with the utmost precision in that matter of words and phrases. And in most of Henley's verse there is unmistakable evidence that he was working, not in tranquillity, but in Fleet Street.

'We flash across the level,
We thunder thro' the bridges,
We bicker down the cuttings,
We sway along the ridges.'

This is a fair example of a prevalent quality in Henley's verse; and it does not begin to exist as poetry.

On the whole, the volume of Poems, running to nearly three hundred pages, is the one of the five forming the admirable collected edition now published that is least likely to serve Henley's memory. He was a skilled writer always and handled many verse forms with ease, but only very rarely in any of them does he come to that last continence which is style. It is interesting to note that he often writes in a manner which is to-day supposed to be very revolutionary, but he seems to have done it without theories, merely because it was easy.

'The stalwart Ships,
The beautiful and bold adventurers!
Stationed out yonder in the isle,
The tall Policeman,
Flashing his bull's-eye, as he peers
About him in the ancient vacancy,
Tells them this way is safety—this way home.'

That might pass without question in to-morrow morning's anthology, and be held to show how unnecessary

Digitized by Google

the great English metrical forms had become to progressive genius. The Henley of this kind, however, is already forgotten, but poetry will always have a secure, if modest, place for such forthright excellence as this:

'Some starlit garden gray with dew,
Some chamber flushed with wine and fire,
What matters where, so I and you
Are worthy our desire?

'Behind, a past that scolds and jeers
For ungirt loins and lamps unlit;
In front, the unmanageable years,
The trap upon the Pit.

'Think on the shame of dreams for deeds,
The scandal of unnatural strife,
The slur upon immortal needs,
The treason done to life.

'Arise! no more a living lie,
And with me quicken and control
Some memory that shall magnify
The universal Soul.'

There is just a little sheaf of this quality to be garnered from Henley's poems; and he is a fortunate man who can contribute even so much to so great an inheritance.

Before passing to the important Henley, the critic, a word must be said of the four plays that he wrote in collaboration with Stevenson. In these there are passages of patent merit. The Stevenson of 'Treasure Island' could not fail in the course of a long work to find moments of enchantment, flushed with the true broadside manner, and coloured of the best. And, given the situation right and the characters really agog, Henley had a gift of dramatic dialogue—if it was Henley's, as I suspect—that could firmly hold the stage for five minutes at a stretch. But these things do not make drama; and, as dramas, these four plays are the merest exercises, and very poor ones at that. It is incredible that two writers of such outstanding ability could at times become so jejune. It is all very well for men of genius to have larks, but even in their larks there must be some conscience, and if there is any conscience in these plays I do not discover it. 'Admiral

Digitized by Google

Guinea' has scenes of the true Stevensonian glamour, but it has nothing else of the smallest dramatic truth. 'Robert Macaire' is a very elaborate joke, which certainly does not come off in reading any more than I can believe it to come off on the stage. 'Beau Austin,' although it has perhaps the best three minutes to be found in any of the plays, is no more than Sheridan-Goldsmith pastiche. And 'Deacon Brodie' succeeds only in making villainy appear more imbecile than virtue. It is in this play, too, that we have the most hilarious examples of the abuse of soliloquy. Henley in his article on 'Othello' speaks of soliloquy as 'an expedient in dramatic art abominable to the play-going mind.' In that essay he is inclined to accept the device because of Shakespeare's use of it, not seeing that in its proper function it may be a magnificent element in great dramatic form. But that a critic who could raise the question at all should put his name to a play in which over and over again one of the characters speaks like this:

'Now for one of the Deacon's headaches! Rogues all, rogues all! (*Goes to clothes-press, and proceeds to change his coat.*) On with the new coat and into the new life! Down with the Deacon and up with the robber! . . . Only the stars to see me! (*Addressing the bed.*) Lie there, Deacon! sleep and be well to-morrow. As for me, I'm a man once more till morning. (*Gets out of the window.*)'

leaves one, as they say in the ring, guessing. They just won't do, and that is all there is to be said of the plays. But, to leave them with the mind on that short scene in 'Beau Austin,' which is perhaps the best thing to be found in them, let me quote. Austin, it may be remembered, first at Fenwick's persuasion but now from genuine impulse, is about to present his addresses to Barbara, who has been one of his conquests. The lady's young brother, Anthony, a cornet who has neither brains nor morals, conceives it to be his duty to shoot or beat the Beau.

Barbara. Mr. Austin. (*She shows Austin in, and retires.*)

Austin. You will do me the justice to acknowledge, Mr Fenwick, that I have been not long delayed by my devotion to the Graces.

Anthony. So, sir, I find you in my house——

Digitized by Google

Austin. And charmed to meet you again. It went against my conscience to separate so soon. Youth, Mr Musgrave, is to us older men a perpetual refreshment.

Anthony. You came here, sir, I suppose, upon some errand?

Austin. My errand, Mr Musgrave, is to your fair sister. Beauty, as you know, comes before valour.

Anthony. In my own house, and about my own sister, I presume I have the right to ask for something more explicit.

Austin. The right, my dear sir, is beyond question; but it is one, as you were going on to observe, on which no gentleman insists.

Fenwick. Anthony, my good fellow, I think we had better go.

Anthony. I have asked a question.

Austin. Which I was charmed to answer, but which, on repetition, might begin to grow distasteful.

Anthony. In my own house——

Fenwick. For God's sake, Anthony!

Austin. In your aunt's house, young gentleman, I shall be careful to refrain from criticism. I am come upon a visit to a lady: that visit I shall pay; when you desire (if it be possible that you desire it) to resume this singular conversation, select some fitter place. Mr Fenwick, this afternoon, may I present you to his Royal Highness?

Anthony. Why, sir, I believe you must have misconceived me. I have no wish to offend: at least at present.

Austin. Enough, sir. I was persuaded I had heard amiss. I trust we will be friends.

Fenwick. Come, Anthony, come: here is your sister.

Henley, the critic, is another matter altogether. It may sometimes be charged against him that he was superficial, and, in a way, justly. But it was a superficiality which Henley himself would have been at no pains to disown, since what is meant is not that he did not feel profoundly, but that his interests were chiefly along the highways of critical thought and creative effort, and that he was not much concerned with the remoter things of speculation nor with the rarer and more elusive kind of personality. The result is that a few readers will find Henley's pronouncement altogether shallow and ill-considered, in the case of a writer such as Landor, for example. That imperturbable spirit, casting the imagination and passion, of which Henley speaks,

Digitized by Google

into a form so austere, so little conscious of the world's judgment, so sufficient to itself, seemed to so plain and blunt a mind as Henley's to be 'not only inferior in kind but poverty-stricken in degree,' and its creative faculty to be 'limited by the reflexion that its one achievement is Landor.' This is to be superficial with a vengeance; and the fortunate thing is that Henley very rarely turned his attention at all to subjects of which he had so little understanding. It is in such studies as those of Fielding, Burns, and the motley that made up Byron's world, that Henley is at his best, not only as a critic but as a writer altogether.

The outstanding quality of all Henley's work in this his best kind is a moral courage of a particular strain which we to-day, taught by a generation of writers who in this at least have learnt wisdom, may find less unusual than it was, say in 1896, when the Burns essay was first published. Twenty-five years ago it was not difficult for a man to speak his mind about life; but, if he spoke with courage and independence, he was apt to find acceptance only among a small body of artists and thinkers. Thirty years had passed, it is true, since Swinburne sent the larger public into convulsions by 'Poems and Ballads'; but even after that lapse of time such a book would have been greeted with a considerable, if not an equal, storm of protest. To-day, however much it might flutter a few hearts, 'Poems and Ballads' would at least leave the moral sense of the public unshocked. And that this is so is largely due to writers, of whom Henley was by no means the least, who came out into the open and challenged, not a coterie but what is known as public opinion, with the declaration that nearly all moral judgments are immoral and that what really matters is not points of view but life.

In reading his essay on Burns, one is reminded of the teaching and practice of the truest worldly philosopher who ever lived, Christ. It is strange that so clear-sighted and lucid a moralist as the founder of Christianity should so often be advanced in support of a dulness of spirit that was the constant mark of his reproof. The people who said it against him that he consorted with publicans and sinners were at least intelligible, and stood for a definite, if bad, morality. There are a great many people

Digitized by Google

in the world who do not like publicans and sinners, who think that they themselves are better than publicans and sinners, and that some kind of outlawry is the desert of such as these. It is a most lamentable state of the human mind, but at least it asserts itself plainly, deceiving itself as to what is right but not as to what it thinks. The astonishing moralists are those who tell you that Christ consorted with publicans and sinners, as though it were a peculiar and crowning virtue in him; that so good a man should have stooped to the company of these forlorn people seems to them to be witness of the most exemplary holiness. The thing that this kind of mind always overlooks is that Christ himself never thought of these people as publicans and sinners at all; and that he would have rated in no uncertain terms the spiritual ignorance that supposes that he could have thought it any kind of virtue to foregather with people whom he merely saw as men and women a little more entangled by circumstance than others, and consequently needing an even tenderer understanding.

It is this Christlike spirit that informs such essays as these of Henley on Fielding and Burns. Here was a critic who not only had his fine sense of literary excellence, but brought a real ethical standard to his appraising of it, a standard that recognised first and last that self-righteousness and morality cannot live together. The result is that in the study of Burns, for example, we have the whole of the man quite fearlessly set down—unstable, betrayed by circumstance into all sorts of follies and even worse, often enough spiritually thriftless, descending at times to the level of a mean antagonist, and, with it all, magnificent. Henley sees these defects in his hero, and is no more afraid of them than Burns himself was at pains to conceal them. He passes no moral judgment on them, since moral judgment is not his business. He merely perceives them, vividly, as part of a character, moving in its other scale to a courage, a generosity, and a passionate charity such as have never been excelled in any human heart. And this complete Burns is, for Henley, life, something to contemplate with all one's understanding and humility, something so much more marvellous in itself than it can be in the testing by preconceived standards.

Digitized by Google

Henley was, in fact, a good man, and like most good men said much that is shocking to the respectable ones. Also his goodness, as usual, expressed itself often with a very natural gaiety, which nowhere shows itself to better advantage than in the brilliant character-sketches which make up the chapter called 'Byron's World.' Nothing could be more spirited in its kind than the little study of Gentleman Jackson, Byron's great prize-fighting friend, of whom the poet said, when some one suggested that this was no company for him to keep, 'Jackson's manners are infinitely superior to those of the fellows of my college whom I meet at the high table.' Jackson repaid the admiration in full, saying of Byron that nobody could be more fearless, and that he showed great courage always 'in coming up to the blows.' It is, again, the life that takes Henley's mood, the life of an age, as he says,

'dreadful no doubt; for all its solid foundations, of faith and dogma in the Church and of virtue and solvency in the State, a fierce, drunken, gambling, "keeping," adulterous, high-living, hard-drinking, hard-hitting, brutal age. But it was Byron's; and "Don Juan" and the "Giaour" are as naturally its outcomes as "Absalom and Achitophel" is an expression of the Restoration, and "In Memoriam" a product of Victorian England.'

Even when Henley makes his sympathy clear, as in the case of Byron against 'Pippin,' Lady Byron, he still sees all round his question.

'On Jan. 8, 1816, Pippin has asked Dr Baillie, "as a friend," to tell her whether Byron is or is not mad; a week after she leaves Piccadilly Terrace for Kirkby Mallory, her father's residence; next day, "by medical advice," she writes cheerfully and affectionately to her husband; and that is all. They never met again; and the next that Duck (Byron) knew of Pippin was that she had taken his child from him, and purposed—strongly purposed—that he should never more set eyes on either of them. He never did. Byron the poet, Byron the dandy, Byron the *homme à femmes*, Byron the lover, Byron the husband and father—the little country blue-stocking was more than a match for them. Against them all she set her unaided wits, and against them all she scored; and scored so heavily that in France, and places

Digitized by Google

where they know better, the name and fame of the British Female suffer for Pippin's achievement yet.'

This human quality in Henley's work would, it need hardly be said, not suffice in itself to make him the critic he is. It is, rather, that, when this nature in him is stirred, his critical faculty becomes alert also, and he discovers an authoritative sense of literary values. When, as in the case of Landor, the emotion of his subject escapes him, the expression of that emotion naturally enough seems to him to be in itself something inadequate. And all that can be said about it, as in every case of æsthetic appreciation, is that, so far as Henley's mind was concerned, the expression *was* inadequate. Landor remains, and Henley proves his worth elsewhere, and little harm is done. In the 'Fielding' and 'Burns,' on the other hand (one returns to these essays since, on the whole, they stand as the best of Henley's achievement), his personal sympathy with the life of his subject finds the nicest modulation in the analysis that he makes of the form in which that life found expression. And these papers are full not only of human understanding but of critical wisdom. We have not only warm-hearted persuasion, but a very rare insight into the processes of literary art. This, for example, of Fielding, is perfect in its discrimination and embodies a general principle that inferior criticism always overlooks:

'. . . he has ever a kindly, and at the same time a leisurely, half-laughing, half-reticent mastery of his creation, which he never permits to get out of hand; so that he is able, on occasion, to assert, and to make us assent to, such an outrageous familiarity as that of the boxing of Squire Western's ears, by a person unnamed, whose sole title to credence is that, being an officer and a gentleman, he is as well acquainted with Squire Western as Squire Western's creator. That is to say, a great deal better than Sir Walter Scott and Mr Saintsbury. Sir Walter thought that Mr Western ought to have retaliated; Mr Saintsbury (speaking, he says, as a Tory) agrees, and seems to think this inimitable and daring touch the Novelist's "one slip." For myself, I am, like Mr Dobson, of Mr Fielding's party; for the reason that he knew his Western, and that his Western, if we are to accept him at all, must be accepted on his terms.'

Digitized by Google

And so it is always when he is in touch with his subject. He may sometimes be deceived by a manner as to what lies behind. To the example of Landor might be added that of Philip Sidney, in whom Henley could see only affectation and conceit, and in whom he only permitted himself vaguely to suspect that there was a heart beating under 'the buckram and broidery and velvet,' so that the poet of 'Astrophel and Stella' remained for him but a 'brilliant amorist.' In that gallant and formal carriage, expressive of an age when with the grand manner went grand manners, Henley could see little more than a strut; and so he could make no acquaintance with one of the truest of the English love poets. But, when he does understand, he nearly always does it with great thoroughness; and in his best work he never fails to test even his warmest sympathy with a writer's temper by a clear apprehension of principles governing the creative energy.

On the whole, Henley stands for a quite definite thing in modern English letters. He was not a great imaginative writer; and, though he had a good style, it was not a notably distinguished one, such as, shall we say, that of Mr Edmund Gosse. Nor, on the other hand, was he a great and original moralist, moving in lonely ways of speculation. But he did perhaps as much as any writer of his time to enlighten the ever-vexed problem of the relation of morality to art. Nothing more justly provokes suspicion in the critical mind than the art which seems to include in its purpose what the Americans call 'moral uplift.' The first sign of the critical mind, indeed, is a very proper pride in the conviction that, for better or worse, it would like to solve its own spiritual problems for itself. Such minds go to art because in that atmosphere, more perhaps than in any other, they are braced precisely for these solutions; and they rightly resent any presumption on the part of the artist that he is being sought, not for this purpose, but as a sort of spiritual ready reckoner. The critical mind is, therefore, and properly, never so touchy as when it suspects that it is being got at by the artist; and, indeed, it is a perfectly sound æsthetic instinct, since, when the artist is thinking about instructing the world instead of understanding it, he is inevitably up Queer Street.

Digitized by Google

But to understand this is by no means the same thing as to suppose that the artist ought not to concern himself with moral issues, or that he is transgressing if he plainly shows himself to be impressed by—to call it by its simplest name—goodness; and the critical mind is continually getting itself confused about this issue. It is one thing for an artist to say, 'Be good, sweet maid,' and quite another thing for him to create a Cordelia, and make it perfectly clear to us that he thinks Cordelia admirable. Every acute critic sees the defect in 'Be good, sweet maid,' but a great many critics who should know better become defensive (or offensive, as the case may be) about the Cordelias of art.

Now, Henley, as has been said already, was a good man, and he loved goodness. He was under no illusions as to what goodness really was, and, as was shown by his acrimonious treatment of some of Stevenson's white-washers, he neither hoped nor wanted to find paragons of virtue among men. He was perfectly aware, too, that in this world of expediency the values of vice and virtue are continually falsified; so that he knew, for example, that in the sum Burns was a much better man than any of his detractors. But, when all is said, the fact remains that Henley did immensely cherish the ordinary decent things of charity and tolerance and fortitude and devotion. And, while he was the last man in the world to tell his fellows that they ought to foster these things, he was eager in his praises whenever he found them. Had he been a great creative artist, his world would have been alive with this best kind of virtue, and it would have been his to survive the common charge of sentimentalising life. As he was not a great creative artist, this instinct in him found its fullest expression in criticism; and it does so in such a way as perhaps might persuade even the most intellectual critic that, in an artist, to be moral is not necessarily to be damned.

JOHN DRINKWATER.

Digitized by Google

Art. 8.—MONARCHISM IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

Two Emperors, five Kings, five Grand Dukes, six Dukes, and seven Princes, all of them reigning Sovereigns under the old régime in Germany and the former Austria-Hungary, have lost their thrones as a consequence of the war. The only German Sovereign left in Central Europe is Prince John II of Liechtenstein. Liechtenstein is one of those anomalous small States, like the Principality of Monaco and the Republics of Andorra and San Marino, which contrived to preserve their independence intact amid the national groupings and regroupings of the 19th century. It has an area of 65 square miles, and a population of a little under 11,000. It lies on the border between Switzerland and Austria; and until the collapse of the Hapsburgs it was in effect (though never in law) a dependency of the latter. It had no army, however; and at the outbreak of the war it declared its neutrality. Since the collapse it has negotiated a Customs Treaty with Switzerland, under which in effect it has become a Swiss dependency. The Principality has a Diet, in which there is a small party which professes Republican opinions; but its propagation of them amongst the population is considerably hampered by the circumstance that the Principality is mostly the private property of the Prince, who, as he draws almost all of the revenue, also defrays almost all of the expenditure. The victory of Republicanism would accordingly imply the introduction of taxes, from which this fortunate State is at present entirely immune; and also, if it were to join Germany or Switzerland, some form of military service. In these circumstances competent observers incline to the view that Prince John can continue to count on the dutiful allegiance of his subjects.

In Germany before the collapse there were numerous similar States, though none were quite so small as Liechtenstein. In two German States (Prussia and Baden) the Sovereigns abdicated in 1918. In two others (Bavaria and Brunswick) the Sovereigns were formally deposed. In the remainder the Sovereigns amicably handed over the administration, withdrawing for the most part either to their country estates or abroad. The Governments which succeeded them thereupon

Digitized by Google

adopted some Democratic State title, generally 'Free State' or 'People's State,' or in one case (Baden) 'Republic.' Some of the smaller ones united with one another. Eight of the Thuringian States (the Duchies of Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg and Gotha, the two Principalities of Reuss combined as one State, and the two Principalities of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt and Schwarzburg-Sondershausen separately) combined to form the United State of Thuringia (Einheitsstaat Thüringen) with Weimar as its capital. Saxe-Coburg, from whose reigning house in the 19th century Belgium and Bulgaria drew their rulers and Queen Victoria her Consort, preferred to join Bavaria. Three other small Principalities (the two Lippes and Waldeck) are likely in the near future to join Prussia.

To interpret these political developments as the triumph of the People's Will in conflict with the monarchic, or the militarist, or any other reactionary principle, would be misleading. The struggle with Liberalism, which occupied the energies of most of the German Princes during the first half of the 19th century, had no counterpart in the second. All of these princes, with the exception of the three Grand Dukes of the North (the two Mecklenburgs and Oldenburg), had granted Constitutions in or after the Revolutions of 1848; and the founding of the Empire in 1870 in broadening the horizon of both Sovereigns and subjects had cut the ground from under these political conflicts. The issue of Republicanism versus Monarchy in the small States had not in fact been on the *tapis* of practical politics in Germany any time in the last fifty years. In many or most of them it would probably never have been raised after the collapse, had not the Allies, or rather President Wilson*—for, so far as is known, the Allies made no pronouncement on the subject—indicated their desire for the establishment of republican institutions in Germany as a preliminary to the negotiation of peace. The loyalty of the average non-Prussian German to his *Bundesfürst* in the latter years of the Empire was a mildly romantic, eminently harmless, sentiment, which he inherited, accepted, and displayed on appropriate

* In his Note of Oct. 23, 1918.

Digitized by Google

official occasions, but to which at other times he did not give much thought—very much like the average Englishman's attitude to the English Royal House. Bismarck (who certainly had no illusions about the German Princes of his day) says in a well-known passage of his 'Reflections and Reminiscences' that this 'particularist patriotism' was a psychological necessity to the German mind; and the late Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, himself a Badener, once told the writer he believed it would outlive the Empire. Perhaps it will.

When the time came for parting, most of the Sovereigns left on excellent terms with their subjects. There were exceptions. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha was very unpopular, partly for personal reasons, partly because he had recently enclosed, for game-preserving, large areas of Crown forest land which had previously been unfenced. The Duke of Brunswick, a member of the reactionary House of Hanover, has aroused indignation by claiming delivery of the contents of the court museums and libraries and of the ducal castles, or their value in cash, as his private property—which unfortunately, under the law governing the possessions of the Ducal House, they appear to be. He left Brunswick for Holland immediately after the collapse. So did the Grand Duke of Oldenburg; and the last-named has since contrived to remove large numbers of the pictures from his castles to Holland. He, too, would presumably not be welcomed back. On the other hand, the Duke of Anhalt has presented almost the whole of his rich collections, together with one of his castles, to the Anhalters. Of the rulers of the larger States (excluding Prussia) only the King of Saxony has left Germany. He and the King of Würtemburg and the Grand Duke of Baden were all popular with their subjects. But perhaps the most popular of all the German Princes at the present time is the Grand Duke of Hesse, who continues to live on one floor of the Grand Ducal Palace in Darmstadt, where he studies philosophy and indulges a well-known taste for the Arts.

In none of the small States are any efforts being made, apparently, either by the Princes or by their peoples, in the direction of Restoration. The Princes, it is said, are diffident of acting independently of the two

Digitized by Google

bigger States, Prussia and Bavaria. The peoples consider the ban of the Entente to be still binding. The question is more *actuelle* in Prussia and in Bavaria. In both of these States there still exist powerful political parties—the Conservatives (now called German Nationals) and the National Liberals (now called German People's Party) in Prussia, and the Clericals in Bavaria—who openly advocate the restoration of the Monarchy in principle, though both realise that at the moment nothing can be done in the matter. On the other hand, in both States, but especially in Prussia, to which most of the industrial districts of Germany belong, there is the solid republican phalanx of the Social Democratic Party. The Republicanism of the Social Democrats is no academic tenet of the party leaders. That it extends to the actual workers was shown by the success of the general strike, which was called at the time of the monarchist *Putsch* in 1920. It is not perhaps that the workers are so much enamoured of republican state forms in themselves, as that they identify Monarchy with the old régime, which they regard as responsible for their misfortunes.

For the moment the prestige of the Social Democrats is very high in Germany. The public feels that on the whole they have risen to the occasion in an hour of national disaster, and made the best of a bad situation. But the Social Democrats are not all-powerful. At the 1920 elections they polled (Majority and Independent Socialists together) 40·4 per cent. of the total votes; and they now govern by a coalition with certain of the bourgeois parties. The bourgeois parties all together, but without the Centre (Clericals) and without one or two Independents, polled 41·2 per cent. Bourgeois and Socialist accordingly are equally balanced; and the Centre holds, as it has always held since the founding of the Empire, the balance. The Centre is itself both bourgeois and Socialist. It represents the whole Catholic population in Germany, from the reactionary peasants of Bavaria to the radical artisans of Westphalia. For the present it is co-operating with the Social Democrats. It has accepted the Republic, and, as a party, does not include monarchical restoration amongst even the academic items of its programme.

It might be expected that the Centre would look with

Digitized by Google

favourable eyes on the restoration of such a good Catholic dynasty as the Wittelsbachs of Bavaria. A large majority of the Centre voters in Bavaria is undoubtedly in favour of an immediate restoration of the Wittelsbachs; and, though there is a strong minority of Socialists (the two Socialist Parties together hold 45 out of the 156 seats in the Bavarian National Assembly, the Clericals having 77 of the remainder), it is probably not strong enough to give the majority pause, if the leaders of the Centre were inclined for action in the matter. But the Centre leaders feel that the cause of Monarchy in Bavaria cannot be isolated from the same cause elsewhere. To restore the King of Bavaria would raise the question of restoring the King of Prussia; and to raise the question of the King of Prussia would *ipso facto* raise the question of the German Emperor. By which time, it is thought, the Senegalese would be in Berlin.

Meanwhile, for the Monarchists in Prussia, there are other difficulties besides the attitude of the Entente. If the Monarchy were to be restored, who would be the Monarch? The ex-Emperor William is not seriously considered. The Germans, it is true, do not regard him as the English do, or till lately did, as the evil genius of the war. Much sympathy is expressed with him; and there was even some attempt to interpret the striking scenes which occurred at the funeral of the Empress as a manifestation in his favour. But the Germans cannot forget how his dilettantist autocracy broke down under the stress of war. They know that he was the plaything of the military chiefs, powerless where he alone was in a position to exercise power. His final exit was of a piece with his attitude throughout the war. Even if the Entente were to allow it, Germany would never take him back. Moreover, he has abdicated. The natural claimant would therefore be the ex-Crown Prince. The Crown Prince has been dragged down by his father's fall. The English picture of the Crown Prince is an absurd caricature. In his day he was not unpopular in Germany. But his political upbringing is suspect; and such indications as he has given of his political attitude have failed to impress the Liberal element in Germany while they have offended the Militarists. If the Empire is to be restored, the Germans

Digitized by Google

want either a very strong Emperor or a very stupid one, carefully trained on English lines in the duties of Constitutional Monarchy. The Crown Prince would be neither. His eldest son might be a possible candidate. In particular, the public have confidence in the training which he has received from his mother. The Crown Princess is not only a great lady in the best sense of those words, but a very clever and enlightened woman, and is respected and liked by all. But the Crown Prince has never renounced his rights to the crown; and, until he was known to be prepared to do so, it would obviously be impossible to take any steps with a view to his son's succession. At every point, therefore, the Monarchist in Germany at present encounters obstacles. To say that a dynasty like the Hohenzollerns, to which Prussia owes its very existence and Germany the most prosperous fifty years in all its recorded history, has disappeared for ever from the history of Central Europe would be rash. But for the moment its chances appear exiguous in the extreme. And with its fate appear to be bound up for the present the fates of the other dynasties of the German tribes.

The case of the Hapsburgs is fundamentally different. It is a circumstance of first-rate political importance, which has been the chief factor in inducing three States containing 42 millions of people to enter into an offensive and defensive Alliance, that the Emperor Charles has never abdicated or renounced his rights to the Austrian Imperial Crown. The return of all the twenty-two dethroned German rulers would probably not alter appreciably the position in Germany, and could not in any case affect the settlement of Versailles. The return of a Hapsburg to Budapest or Vienna, on the other hand, would instantly throw into the melting-pot the two settlements of St Germain and Trianon, and its effects would most probably be felt throughout Central Europe. In Germany, as has been explained, whatever the future may have in store, restoration is not at present a question of practical politics. In the lands of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, on the other hand, the question is alive and burning.

One of these lands, Hungary, by an official act of

Digitized by Google

Government has declared itself to be still a Kingdom, with a Lord Protector * acting as Regent for the absent Monarch; and its Ministries and Legations have re-assumed the prefix of 'Royal' (under a Ministerial Order of March 23, 1920). The ex-King himself, in spite of his abdication of the Hungarian Crown (communicated by letter to Count Michael Karolyi on Nov. 13, 1918), has made one attempt (in March 1921), which in the opinion of some dispassionate observers very nearly succeeded, to reascend the throne. At the moment of writing (September 1921) there are rumours in certain circles in Pest and Vienna of an impending second attempt. Given certain changes in the existing international situation, a second attempt might conceivably be more successful. Louis Napoleon made, not one, but two unsuccessful attempts before he succeeded in restoring the Napoleonic Empire in France. And the return of King Constantine to Greece in the teeth of the ban of the Entente is a precedent not a year old.

To all appearances the old ruling class in Hungary, which the present régime has replaced in the saddle, is more or less uniformly monarchist. The peasants, who represent 65 per cent. of the population, probably agree with the politicians, or at any rate would follow their lead, as they have been accustomed to do for centuries. The industrial workers in the towns, who supported the Bolshevist experiment of Bela Kun, are doubtless republican. But Hungarian industry, in spite of its remarkable achievements during the past fifty years, does not account for a large percentage of the population, and is not well organised for making its voice heard. So far, therefore, as the Hungarian people as a whole are concerned, it is probable that, if the Monarchy were to be re-established, they would welcome it without any considerable dissent.

The position in Austria is very different. Monarchism in Hungary is a positive and active creed. In Austria it is negative and passive. The distinction lies partly in the character of the two peoples. The Austrian is

* This seems to be the best translation of Admiral Horthy's official title (*Kormányzó*). It is not the equivalent of 'Palatine' or 'Viceroy,' and it is a higher title than 'Governor' in the English or American use of that word. In writing he is addressed as 'His High Excellency' (*Föméltóságor*).

Digitized by Google

incapable of Counter-Revolution, as he is incapable of Revolution. The Hungarian does things for himself; the Austrian likes to have things done for him. The Monarchists about the Emperor Charles, who were responsible for the attempt in March last — Prince Windischgrätz, Count Erdödy, Baron Boroviczenyi—are all Hungarians. But there is also a decisive difference in the circumstances of the two peoples. Austria is dependent on outside help for its food-supply, and for nearly all the raw materials of its industry. Either the Big Entente or the Little Entente could starve Austria within a month by drawing a cordon round her frontiers. There can be no relief from this situation unless and until Austria joins Germany, or the Entente provides credits on a very large scale. There appears now to be little or no prospect of such credits being obtained; and many observers are beginning to doubt whether even with their aid Austria would be capable of independent existence. Hungary, on the other hand, is self-supporting in the matter of food-stuffs, and has even an exportable surplus with which she can negotiate the purchase of raw materials for her industry. The complete and unrelieved impotence of Austria makes any public feeling there may be for or against a monarchical restoration purely academic. It is doubtful if there is very much feeling on the subject, outside the ranks of ex-army officers and officials on the one hand and the professional leaders of Social Democracy on the other.

The existing republican régime, it is true, excites enthusiasm in no single quarter. The prestige of the Vienna Government is probably lower than that of any Government in Europe. Every political party (except the Pan-Germans) has had an attempt at wielding power; but the logic of the position is too strong for any ministerial changes to make a difference. On the whole, Ministries in which the Social Democrats have held office have been rather more successful, for the simple reason that, when they are out of power, the Social Democrats have no interest in preventing disorder. The history of 1848 has repeated itself in the three years since 1918, with the Social Democrats in the rôle of the Liberals of 1848. Now, as then, the Clerical provinces have turned their backs on infidel Vienna. This time

Digitized by Google

they have gone further than in 1848, and obliged the capital to accept a Constitution (in force since Nov. 10, 1920), which makes of Austria a Federal State on the model of Switzerland, with almost complete autonomy for the provincial administrations. The City of Vienna is detached from the province of Lower Austria, of which it previously formed part, and ranks as an independent province. Having thus secured themselves against the contagion of the capital, the provinces have sat down to await happier days. Two of them (Salzburg and Tirol) have held plébiscites, which resulted in overwhelming majorities for union with Germany. One (Vorarlberg) has voted for union with Switzerland. By pressure exerted in Berlin and Bern the Entente prevented any effect being given to these proceedings; and a fourth province (Styria) was induced, not without difficulty, to forgo the holding of yet another plébiscite. This end was attained by threatening not to grant the credits, which at this time the Austrians believed would be forthcoming. Such belief no longer prevails, and the manœuvre could hardly be repeated. Pressure exercised on Vienna is, of course, without effect in Styria. But, though the list of provincial plébiscites is not complete, there have been enough to demonstrate beyond the possibility of doubt that the provinces are overwhelmingly in favour of union with Germany. Any monarchist tendencies which they may have must be reconciled with this desire. The movement for union with Germany is in fact not based on racial or linguistic affinities. It has no kinship with the 'Grossdeutschland' movement of the 19th century. It is supported because it is regarded as an economic necessity; and on this issue at any rate all parties, Pan-Germans, Clericals, and Social Democrats, are agreed.

If union with Germany were to be combined with a restoration of the Hapsburgs. it would clearly involve delicate problems for the dynasty. It is not thinkable that the clock could be set back, and the Hapsburgs succeed the Hohenzollerns in the Imperial dignity. Indeed, if Charles of Hapsburg were to return to Vienna, it could hardly be with the title of 'Emperor of Austria.' In the purely Austrian lands of his house (the two Austrias, Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, and Tirol) the

Digitized by Google

highest title he held was 'Archduke.' Possibly a solution would be sought by forming a new 'Kingdom of Austria,' as the 'Empire of Austria' was formed in 1805. The heralds will have a difficult time of it.

That the average Austrian bourgeois both in the provinces and in Vienna would welcome a restoration, if it could be combined with union with Germany, may be taken as fairly certain. All the lighter side of Vienna—and the lighter is the most Viennese side of Vienna—misses the Hapsburgs dreadfully. The attachment of the Viennese to the Imperial House had a personal note, to which there was no parallel in any other European monarchy. Their absence is felt like the absence of a family of cousins, with which one has grown up. They were part of the genial, comfortable atmosphere, in which the Viennese lived and moved and had his being under the old régime. How far he would be prepared to disturb or risk such remains of geniality and comfort as he has been able to snatch from the wreckage, in order to have them back, is another matter.

The attitude of the Austrian working-class is much more difficult to estimate.* It is certainly not that of the German working-class, which thinks and acts in pretty close accord with its party leaders. The rank and file of the Austrian workers have probably no convictions in favour of republican state forms. The truculence of the Republicanism of the Social Democrat Party leaders and of their organ, the interesting and extremely well edited 'Arbeiter-Zeitung,' is merely the measure of their fear of the strength of the Hapsburg tradition, and of the potentialities which a successful restoration in Hungary would open up in Austria. It finds an echo principally in the new army (Reichswehr), which is a jealously guarded Social Democrat preserve, and in certain of the Workers' Councils in Vienna itself and in the Wiener Neustadt district.

In 1919 I had to make investigations into the food

* The Social Democratic Party membership in Vienna alone increased from 49,600 at the outbreak of the war to 188,379 in 1921. The total Trade Union membership at the same date was 459,000. Not much over 25 per cent., therefore, of the organised workers are officially members of the party. On the other hand, at the last elections 435,487 of them voted for it.

Digitized by Google

conditions in various factories in Vienna and Wiener Neustadt and also in the industrial district of North Styria. In general, Austrian factory organisation is very much more primitive and patriarchal than it is either in Germany or in England; and the attitude of the employees depends very much more on the personality of the managing director. Of the few indications of political feeling among the employees much the most striking was a tendency, which I found widely spread, to associate the Hapsburgs with the mismanagement of the army rationing on the Italian Front, especially in the last year of the war. Again and again in conversation reference was made by men who had served on this front to the starvation they had undergone. Sometimes the officers were blamed. 'The officers,' I would be told, 'had plenty to eat; and so did the men at the base. But we got nothing but a half-loaf of bread and cold water, and *Goulasch* (Maconochie ration) once a week.' One man, after some such remarks, added hesitatingly: 'We have made a clean sweep of all that. We have no more Kaiser now.' I asked if he thought the Kaiser and Vienna were to blame, or the officers of the Train (A.S.C.). He knew nothing about that, but he added: 'Officers and such are there because of the Kaiser. Now there is no more Kaiser, all these miseries are over.' How far the recollection of the privations which the Austrian soldiers suffered in the latter part of war has softened since 1919, I am not in a position to judge. But it must be strong enough to rob the old régime, in the eyes of most of the present generation of workers, of any halo which it might otherwise possess.

The actual chances of a restoration in Hungary depend on the possibility of circumventing, frustrating, or dividing the Little Entente. The three States of which the Little Entente is composed consist either entirely (in the case of Czecho-Slovakia), mainly (in the case of Jugoslavia), or largely (in the case of Rumania) of territories forming part of the late Hapsburg dominions. None of them can afford to allow a Hapsburg to ascend a neighbouring throne, and become a rallying-point for every discontented element within their borders. The danger is most acute for the Czecho-Slovak State with its numerous minorities, nearly all of

Digitized by Google

whom were incorporated in the new State against their will, and of which the richest and most powerful, the German Bohemians, representing 28·5 per cent. of the entire population, is in open revolt against the racial policy of the Prague Government. Jugoslavia and Rumania have less cause for alarm; for both States owe their formation to the free consent of their component elements. But the present parliamentary rift between the Croats and Slovenes on the one hand and the Serbs on the other makes the idea of anything in the nature of political experiment particularly distasteful at the present moment at Belgrade. Bucharest on the whole has pursued a generous and conciliatory policy towards the minorities in Transylvania and the Banat; but the return of a Hapsburg King to Budapest would undoubtedly have an electric effect on the large enclaves of Magyar race in Eastern Transylvania as well as in the largely pro-Magyar atmosphere of the towns in the newly-ceded districts. In these circumstances the military occupation of Hungary by the three Allies, for which the Little Entente is understood to provide, would be an immediate sequel to any restoration in Budapest.

There have been moments during the past two years when it looked as if the Powers of the Big Entente might be played off against the Powers of the Little Entente in the interests of a Hapsburg restoration. France, Italy, and certain British officials at Budapest have all at different times and for different reasons appeared to toy with the idea. That, however, was before the common interests of the Prague, Bucharest, and Belgrade Governments had taken definite shape in the form of an alliance. The Little Entente is now all-powerful in the Danubian lands; and it is not easy to imagine any political conjuncture, in which it would now be possible for the Hungarian monarchists to play off the Allied Missions, or any one of them, against it. Unless, therefore, some internal disrupture of the first magnitude, such as a revolution in Czecho-Slovakia or an Italo-Jugoslavian War, occurs to paralyse the striking power of the Little Entente, the cause of the Hapsburgs appears to be held for some time to come ineluctably in check. More than this it would be rash to say.

Digitized by Google

Since the above lines were written, King Charles has made his second attempt to ascend the Hungarian Throne. In the circumstances outlined above it was doomed to failure. So was Louis Napoleon's second *coup d'état*—*Putsch* is the modern word—at Boulogne. Charles, as was Louis Napoleon, is now held in captivity. But in the world of the aeroplane, Madeira is not so very much further from the palace at Buda than Ham was from the Tuileries.

The interest of the second *Putsch* lies in the test which it has afforded of the cohesion of the Little Entente. As all the world knows now, Rumania at the critical moment refused to mobilise. The Big Entente was thus enabled to *rentrer en scène*, and (with suitable concessions to save the face of Prague and Belgrade) to dictate the terms to Hungary. The obedient Government of Admiral Horthy hastened to pass a law annulling the Pragmatic Sanction, and excluding the House of Hapsburg for ever from the Hungarian Throne. The enactment in itself of course is not worth the paper on which it is written; for, if ever there was a case of that most ancient (and sound) principle of Hungarian Constitutional Law, 'Vis maior non potest efficere validam legem,' it was this. There are those who believe that the Kossuthist anti-Hapsburg tradition in Hungary, which once again came strongly into the light during the *Putsch*, is strong enough to make a King, and establish a Dynasty, in the person of Admiral Horthy. That depends on the view which is taken of the policy, and still more of the personality, of Admiral Horthy. There is at any rate a precedent in History. 'Had Zimri peace, who slew his master?'

Digitized by Google

Art. 9.—DAVID HENDERSON.

In the long roll of Scottish arms there may be found most varieties of temper and endowment, and he would be a bold man who would dogmatise on the character of the Scottish soldier. But one figure appears with such regularity as almost to constitute a type—the man who to courage adds a peculiar gentleness, to military attainments a love of the humane arts, to the power of leadership the gift of winning affection. From the great Montrose onwards, conspicuous instances will occur to the student of history, and I have many such in my mind among the soldiers of to-day. It is the Happy Warrior out of whose strength comes forth sweetness—the man who

> 'endued as with a sense
> And faculty for storm and turbulence,
> Is yet a soul whose master-bias leans
> To homefelt pleasures and to gentle scenes.'

At first one may wonder at their choice of profession. Andrew Lang once said of David Henderson, after a conversation on some abstruse historical point, that 'He must be a very lonely man in the army.' But the judgment is hasty, for it is to the army that one looks especially for that rare union of fortitude and grace, like the quality of a tempered sword.

David Henderson was born in 1862 of a well-known family of Glasgow shipbuilders. On his mother's side he was of Highland descent; and, indeed, he always seemed to me to be the perfect combination of the two Scottish race-stocks, the lowland and the highland, the covenanting and the cavalier. He had the shrewdness and 'canniness' of the Lowlands, their long patience, their dislike of humbug, their sense of irony in life and character. And he had, too, something of the tough knuckle of obstinacy which goes with these endowments. A touch of the 'Shorter Catechist' was not wanting, for he had an austere sense of duty and a vigilant conscience. On the other side were imagination and a warm generosity of brain and heart. He was always extraordinarily susceptible to new ideas and quick to kindle. He had his countrymen's capacity for honest sentiment; tradition and romance played on his

Digitized by Google

mind like music; and behind his reserve lay something gay and adventurous and debonair. All this might be read in his face, one of the handsomest I have ever seen. In repose it was apt to be grave, wise, a little stern; but the deep eyes had always a boyish ardour and commonly some hint of whimsical humour. One could equally well picture him with the steel headpiece of an Ironside, singing Psalms by Oliver's elbow, or in a plumed hat riding with Montrose through the storms to Inverlochy.

He began life with an engineer's training, but his heart was in soldiering, and in 1883 he joined the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders through Sandhurst. In 1890 he became a captain, and seven years later joined the staff of the Intelligence Department. The following year he was in the Sudan Campaign, where he was mentioned in despatches and received a brevet majority. In 1899 he was in South Africa—before the outbreak of war, when he did valuable Intelligence work, often at great personal risk. He was shut up in Ladysmith and wounded during the siege, and afterwards was appointed by Lord Kitchener his Director of Intelligence, finishing the war with a D.S.O. and a lieutenant-colonelcy. The post was scarcely a bed of roses; and his particular duties called for the exertion of all his great qualities of tact, patience, and good humour. It was in South Africa that I first came to know him well; and I used to feel that his quiet evenness of temper was no easy achievement, but the consequence of a strong will dominating high-strung nerves and a most sensitive spirit.

On his return he became D.A.Q.M.G. at Aldershot, and rose steadily in his profession till, in 1912, he was Director of Military Training at the War Office. To this period belongs the only literary work of his which I can trace. Between 1905 and 1909 he contributed several articles to the 'Quarterly Review.' One of these,* a paper on the Territorial Force, in the number for January 1909, created something of a sensation in the Army, and earned the warm admiration of Lord Roberts. David Henderson was a master of clean unrhetorical

* The others were: 'The Price of Peace' (October 1905); 'The First Year of the Boer War' (July 1906); and 'Mr Haldane and the Army' (April 1907).

Digitized by Google

prose; and the curious prescience and detachment of this paper make one regret that he found so little leisure to write on matters connected with his profession. In it he notes unerringly the merits of the Haldane reconstruction and its defects. He concludes thus:

'Hampered by limited funds, obstructed by prejudice, responsible to a people which refuses to recognise its natural obligations, Mr Haldane has created order out of chaos. The thanks of the Volunteers are due to him for having granted them their chief desire—the power of being of use to their country. Still more does he deserve gratitude from those shameless ones who tremble at the thought of taking an active part in the defence of their homes. For a few years they are safe. While peace lasts, they may employ their leisure by crowding to see men play cricket or football; if war comes, they will be able to huddle under a white flag to see men die.'

Meantime he had found a new interest in life. As an old Intelligence officer, the possibilities of aircraft in war were obvious to him from the start; and, in face of the scepticism of the more conservative, he showed his belief in the new arm by qualifying as a pilot. In 1911, when he was Chief Staff Officer to Sir John French at the Horse Guards, he took his certificate at Brooklands, being then in his fiftieth year; and so created a double record, as the man who had 'taken his ticket' in the shortest time, and as the oldest man in the world who could fly. That so distinguished a senior officer should take an interest in flying was a fortunate thing for the new service; and it was natural that the new Air Battalion at Farnborough should be placed under the department of the Director of Military Training. David Henderson was the moving spirit in the group of men, appointed by the Imperial Defence Committee, who organised the Royal Flying Corps. In 1913 he became Director-General of Military Aeronautics, a post which he held till 1917. In this early organisation he steadfastly maintained one principle—that the Royal Flying Corps must be a single service with naval and military wings, and not two divergent and competing activities. Much waste and delay would have been saved if this system had been perpetuated; but within six months,

Digitized by Google

in spite of all his efforts, the Navy and Army had begun to draw apart, and it was not till 1918 that the idea of a single service was realised.

When war broke out, David Henderson—for some years now a General and a K.C.B.—went to France in command of the Royal Flying Corps, the three squadrons, containing practically every available machine, which had flown across the Channel in the first days of August. To the doings of that little band Lord French has borne witness.

'Their skill,' he said, 'energy and perseverance have been beyond all praise. They have furnished me with the most complete and accurate information, which has been of incalculable value in the conduct of the operations. Fired at constantly both by friend and foe, and not hesitating to fly in every kind of weather, they have remained undaunted throughout.'

Like every regimental officer, David Henderson's deepest ambition was to lead troops in the field, and he always hankered after the command of a division, which for a short time at the end of 1914 he obtained. But he acquiesced cheerfully when it was impressed upon him that his true work lay in the new service which he had created. In the late summer of 1915 the Royal Flying Corps was expanding with such amazing rapidity that his presence was required in London; and he resumed his old post of Director-General of Military Aeronautics and Air Member of the Army Council. For the next two years he led a crowded and anxious life. Here was a brand-new weapon, devised just before the opening of war, and developing feverishly under the impulse of daily necessities. To use it a brand-new service had been created, which had to find organisation, tone, tradition, and everything at the shortest notice. Moreover, supply had to be arranged for by means of brand-new factories; and there was bound to be trouble between the Royal Aircraft Factory and the private maker, who could only look to the Government for his market. Finally, the head-quarter organisation and its place in the hierarchy of Government were unsettled; and the Navy and the Army were in furious competition.

In any controversy as to the merits of the British

Digitized by Google

air-service the critic was at an advantage, for the ordinary man had no expert knowledge to test his criticism; and it was frequently impossible for the authorities to reply, since that would have involved the publication of details valuable to the enemy. Any considerable increase in flying casualties brought the question to the fore; and there was always to be encountered the natural anxiety of the British citizen to make certain of the efficiency of a service on which his safety depended. In the summer of 1916, a committee, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Bailhache, sat to investigate various charges brought by Press and Parliamentary critics against the administration of the Royal Flying Corps. The result was a conspicuous personal triumph for David Henderson. Quietly, gently, cunningly, with the subtlety of a great Chancery leader, he disposed of the accusations based on hearsay evidence or on no evidence at all, which had been showered on his department by advertising nonentities. Probably no living soldier could have handled the matter with such perfect judgment and consummate artistry.

The confusion at the top was a graver matter. The Air Board, under Lord Curzon in 1916, and Lord Cowdray in 1917, had not sufficient authority to harmonise the competitive demands of Army and Navy. In the autumn of 1917 General Smuts and David Henderson devised a scheme for an Air Ministry; and in January 1918 the new organisation came into being. Lord Rothermere was Minister; General Trenchard returned from France to be Chief of the Air Staff; and David Henderson became a member and Vice-President of the Air Council. This is not the place to recount the misfortunes of the first Air Minister, who contrived in a few weeks so to outrage the professional standards of his chief officers that he brought about the resignation of both General Trenchard and David Henderson before resigning himself. In that bad time there was much wild talk by this and that high official of resignation in sympathy with the Chief of the Air Staff. David Henderson did not talk, but he did not hesitate to retire from a service which was the apple of his eye and his own creation. Many things became him well in that service, but none better than his manner of leaving it.

Digitized by Google

In a few years the Royal Air Force has become a vital part of the armed strength of Britain and has already compiled a proud history. To David Henderson this service owes more than to any single man, and his name must for ever be linked with it. For one thing, he was the pioneer, the man with insight and vision; for another, he was a most competent administrator, as his record bears witness—75 machines in 1914, 25,000 in 1917. In the noisy business of war a man so utterly unselfish as he might well have been crowded out, and in popular esteem he was surpassed by many more showy figures. Advertisement and intrigue of any kind were so repulsive to him that he scorned even the more innocent devices which assist success. In 1915 there were some who decried his value, in 1917 there were many; now I do not think there are any who dare adopt that attitude—any, that is, with pretensions to sanity. He was the last man to make high claims for himself, and he was quick to admit the superiority of others in certain branches, for it takes every kind of talent to make a Service. But it was those very colleagues, who might excel him in this or that specialty, that testified most eagerly to the endowment which was his unique distinction. That endowment was a moral quality, a kind of spiritual and intellectual good-breeding, a high seriousness relieved by humour and a curious tenderness—σπουδαῖον καὶ ἐπιεικές. It is not enough to call him a great gentleman. Happily the Army has no lack of gentlemen, even of great gentlemen. What he achieved without effort or ostentation was to make his quality felt throughout a mass of men, and insensibly and profoundly to influence many thousands. Hence he gave a tone—the most precious of gifts—to the new Service. At the start the Air Force was something of a *corps d'élite;* as it grew, it naturally absorbed some odd material, and on its home and non-combatant side showed an unfortunate gift of attracting the dregs of conscripted manhood and becoming the refuge of the *arriviste* and the *embusqué.* That it survived this ordeal and remained a great Service was due in no small part to the personality of its first chief.

When David Henderson left the Royal Air Force, he acted for some time as area commandant of British troops in Paris. He had to face now the greatest sorrow

Digitized by Google

of his life. His only son Ian had, like him, begun in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, and then transferred to the Air Force; and during the Somme battles he had been one of the most daring pioneers in the work of contact patrols. He died in the summer of 1918 as the result of an aeroplane accident in South Ayrshire. After then David Henderson was never quite the man he had been. He had lost all personal ambition; his reserve was now tinged with a permanent sadness; and his old flashes of gaiety were harder to elicit. Happily he found a new and enthralling profession.

About the time of the Armistice he met Mr H. P. Davison, of the American Red Cross, who had the idea of grouping in an international federation the various Red Cross Societies, and placing all their assets of knowledge and experience at the service of a great campaign of public health. It was to be the continuation in peace of the constructive and curative work which the Red Cross had done in war, and was intended to help to carry out Article XXV of the Covenant of the League of Nations: 'The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.' The League of Red Cross Societies was accordingly founded in May 1919, on the initiative of the Red Cross Societies of Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States, and Japan, with Mr Davison as Chairman. Its head-quarters were fixed at Geneva, and David Henderson was appointed Vice-Chairman and Director-General.

It was work for which he was peculiarly well fitted. His tact and charm of manner were invaluable in smoothing difficulties from the path of the young organisation; his sagacity kept its policy sane and central. He brought to his duties an almost missionary zeal. He was still the soldier, but his campaign was now against folly and avoidable pain; and he who had given his best years to the task of war now brought the same ardour to the healing of the world's wounds. How successful his work was all his colleagues have borne witness. Before his gracious kindliness national prejudices and the prickliness

Digitized by Google

to which philanthropists are prone vanished like snow in thaw; and criticism and enthusiasm became amicable yoke-fellows. He was happy in his new life. and seemed destined to make a second career as brilliant as the first. But the shock of his boy's death and years of over-work and anxiety had weakened a body never too strong. In the spring of 1921 he fell ill, and he died on Aug. 17, after a long illness borne with the fortitude that never failed him.

This short sketch gives but a dim idea of a brilliant and varied career, and to those who did not know him can present but a feeble picture of the man. Ordinary eulogy is out of place, for David Henderson's were not the kind of gifts to which justice can be done by an eloquent *éloge*. I can see yet the quizzical look that used to creep into his face when one tried to congratulate him on something or other; he loved good-will but not compliments, for he himself was the sternest and far the most competent judge of his own performances. What his friends felt chiefly about him was his rareness—the edge and fineness of both mind and character. He had the distinction which makes certain of the dead stand out with complete clearness from the background of memory, and the endearing charm that warms every remembrance. These are characteristics which one chiefly associates with the young men who fell in the war, for fifty odd years of life and a measure of success blur the lines of most figures and brush a little of the bloom off them; they have proved themselves, and we know pretty well what they can do, and what they cannot do. But the memory of David Henderson is chiefly of a certain youthfulness, of immense promise, of a personality greater than any possible achievements. At whatever age he died he would have died young. Whenever he died his death would have been untimely. That is what we feel about those who leave behind, not only a tale of things done, but a tradition of a spirit which defies positive record because it was an inspiration to a thousand records. Such a tradition David Henderson has bequeathed to his own special service and to the British Army.

JOHN BUCHAN.

Digitized by Google

Art. 10.—FASCISM AND ITS POLITICAL INFLUENCES IN ITALY.

THE logical connexion of recent happenings in Italy only begins to appear when they are presented in the context of the political evolution of the country since the general elections of Nov. 16, 1919. As, moreover, the development of the internal situation in the immediate future will to a large extent be determined by the events of the last two years, a brief review of this period is necessary in order to discover the goal, if any, towards which Italy is moving.

In 1919 the morale of Italy was shaken to its foundations. To the economic prostration consequent on a war that had drained the meagre resources of the State, there was added the bitter disappointment that, though the war had been won, the nation had reaped little of the fruits of victory. Italians watched with a sense of envy and disillusionment the assignment of mandates and the extension of zones of influence by the other victorious Allies, while they themselves had still to settle as best they could the fate of the Adriatic, for which they had principally entered the war. The masses were deeply discontented. The cost of living had gone up by 300–400 per cent., while wages had not risen in proportion. Every day brought fresh proofs of callous profiteering and of gross scandals by contractors in high places. Lodgings were unobtainable in the town districts, or could only be had at fancy rents. Bread was of the poorest possible quality, while many articles of ordinary consumption, such as butter and sugar, had all but disappeared from the retail market. Embitterment was intensified by the lavish display of wealth by the new rich and by the growing output of articles of luxury, while the barest necessaries of life were lacking. In these abnormal conditions Bolshevist propaganda found a ready response. Russia became the hallowed symbol of the social millennium in the popular imagination. The Red flag took the place of the national colours; and the Soviet emblem of the hammer and the sickle gained an almost fanatical significance. A little over two years ago contempt for the Army and all national institutions was frequently displayed in public

Digitized by Google

in the industrial centres of Italy. The Army itself was rapidly being won over to the Revolution; and the Nitti Government was obliged to hasten demobilisation in order to avoid a catastrophe like the Russian.

It was in these circumstances that the elections of Nov. 16, 1919, were held. The Nitti Administration had alienated a large part of the old Liberal elements and the whole of the Nationalists from its support. The prestige of the Government was at stake; and its efficiency in representing the interests of Italy at foreign conference tables was seriously doubted. The consequence was that a considerable portion of the supporters of constitutional government abstained from the polls. The Socialists on the other hand were compact. The different shades of Socialist opinion—Reformist, Official, and Extremist—made common cause, and launched a political campaign which bore quick fruit on ground well watered by widespread discontent. Socialist propaganda in the North and the Centre and in some of the agricultural districts in the south-eastern provinces was so intense that a fatalistic belief in the ultimate victory of the Revolutionaries took deep root in the minds of Italians of all classes. It was felt that, even if a strong constitutional parliament were returned, the struggle would not cease, and that a protracted period of violence would follow. On those grounds many voters were found who, while rejecting revolutionary tenets, voted for the Socialists in the hope of seeing social peace re-established and the work of reconstruction begun. The discouragement and apathy of the voters who stood for order on the one hand, and the rapid progress of revolutionary ideas on the other, were the principal causes of the signal Labour victory at the general elections of November 1919. The Socialist seats in Parliament were more than doubled—the total number of Socialist deputies elected was 156—while the newly formed Popular or Catholic Party, which stood for radical and Christian, as opposed to revolutionary, social reform, secured a firm footing in the Chamber at its very first appearance on the electoral lists.

It was evident, as soon as the results of the elections were known, that traditional party government by a Liberal majority with a Democratic Opposition, or the

Digitized by Google

reverse, was impossible; the support of either the Socialist or the Popular Party was indispensable. The Socialists resolutely refused to participate in the government of the country, the Official wing, with Bolshevist tendencies, far outnumbering the Reformists who advocated Socialism by constitutional means. After protracted negotiations Nitti formed a Cabinet including members of the new Catholic Party; but the social exigencies of the latter, strongly tainted with clericalism, were not of a kind to please the Liberals. Parliament was given a short lease of life, instability having made its appearance at the very start both in the Government and among its supporters. The Socialists were eager to take advantage of the strength of their position in Parliament; but the feeling of approaching victory carried them to an exuberance which was premature. Nationalism was still a predominant sentiment in the country in spite of its temporary eclipse. Revolutionaries as a rule are poor group-psychologists; and certainly the Italian Socialist Party grossly miscalculated the temperament of the mass of their countrymen when its members in Parliament withdrew in a body from the Chamber as the King entered to read his speech, to come back again when the ceremony was over amid the singing of the 'Internationale' and the 'Red Flag.'

The first Nitti Cabinet in the 25th Legislature lived an uncertain life until March 1920. During most of this period Signor Nitti was in London and Paris, trying to settle the Adriatic question. The halting solutions he obtained contrasted so unfavourably with the determination of D'Annunzio that he made enemies of the Nationalists and gradually lost the support of the very Liberals who stood behind him in Parliament. In the mean time the Popular Party, benefiting by its preponderant rôle in the Chamber, began to agitate for a larger share in the Government. The pressure brought to bear by it was so great that eight Ministers resigned on March 14, and a modified Ministry was patched up, only to fall two months later. Between May 12 and June 9 negotiations were in progress for a new Cabinet including the Catholics. All efforts, however, were doomed to failure, owing to the intransigent conditions laid down by the Popular Party before participating in

Digitized by Google

the Government. The second Nitti Cabinet tendered its resignation on June 9; and on June 24 Signor Giolitti appeared with what seemed a workable Ministry including a strong Catholic element.

Signor Giolitti, who is above all a politician, presented a programme calculated to satisfy all the parties that had been working for the downfall of his predecessor. The Nationalists were promised that in future Parliament would be fully consulted on matters of foreign policy, and that a permanent parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee would be appointed for that purpose. The Socialists were assured that the Government would be strictly neutral in the class-war; that an inquiry would be held on war expenditure; and that retroactive taxation would be imposed on excess profits made during the war. Finally, satisfaction was given to the Popular Party in respect of their fundamental demand that uncultivated land should be expropriated and distributed among the peasantry.

All promised well within Montecitorio, but fresh troubles of a particularly grave character soon broke the social peace necessary for economic reconstruction, which the Giolitti Government held out as being near at hand. Labour, though less organised and less united than it had been at certain periods before the war, had recruited to its ranks large masses of turbulent characters, more inspired by vague anarchical sentiments than by any ideas of a disciplined revolution. The cry for immediate direct action against the established order came from every part of Italy—from the industrial North and Centre as well as from the agricultural South. Socialist agitators and extremists from the left wing of the Popular Party fanned the flame of revolution throughout the land. The Parliamentary Socialist Party, with the exception of the more balanced leaders like Filippo Turati, really thought that the moment had come for the downfall of the capitalist regime, and encouraged the rising spirit of revolt by all the means in its power. The industrial workers and the agricultural labourers were in a dangerous mood; and the managers of industry as well as the landowners felt powerless before the rising tide of insubordination.

The inevitable followed. Towards the end of August

Digitized by Google

1920 there began that process of occupation of factories by the workers and the seizure of land by the peasants which astonished the whole world by the suddenness and ease with which it was carried out, but which the Italians, who took in the situation from close quarters, accepted with a kind of fatalistic resignation. In the eyes of unthinking partisans of Labour, the millennium had come. Land and industry were henceforth to be the property of their own workers; and the fall of the bourgeoisie as a ruling and economic power was only a matter of time. To this end Red Guards were organised as a counter-weapon against the Royal Guards, which had been founded under Nitti's administration to save the country from proletarian disorder. The most disquieting feature of the situation, while the factories were in the hands of the workers, was the clandestine stocking of arms and munitions in the workshops and in Labour Clubs. The internal situation of Italy in the first half of September 1920 was critical; and the country was at one moment on the eve of a catastrophic revolution which might have plunged it into the horrors that followed the Communistic experiment in Russia. On the one hand there was the firm stand taken by the factory-owners, which was proclaimed at the close of every one of their meetings, not to make any concessions until the workers had evacuated the factories seized; and on the other hand there was the daily extension of the seizure movement, which was being fanned into a revolutionary manœuvre by the Parliamentary Socialist Party and by the Socialist organ 'Avanti!'

A clever move made by Signor Giolitti saved Italian industry and the country itself from anarchy and disorder. He boldly espoused the moderate attitude displayed by the Labour Confederation majority, which was for conciliation, against the Socialist political party, which wanted to give the movement a revolutionary character. The bourgeois Press in general sided with the Premier, who, in conformity with his programme of neutrality in the class-struggle, was steering a middle course between the extremist attitudes of the Communists and the Federation of Industrial Owners. Meanwhile the leaders of the Confederation won the support of the Popular Party, which, in a manifesto to the

Digitized by Google

Catholic workers, warned them against Communism and dangerous social experiments, but recognised the principle of the democratic control of industry and profit-sharing.

Industrial peace was temporarily restored by the meeting in Rome between the delegates of masters and men on Sept. 20, 1920. Signor Giolitti was present as the guiding spirit of the negotiations, while the Prefects of Milan and Turin, the principal centres of disturbance, also attended. The agreement concluded was a virtual victory for the workers. Not only did they obtain the increase of 4 lire a day in wages, but the masters were obliged to waive their insistence on the dismissal of the leading agitators. On his own responsibility Signor Giolitti imposed a conciliatory formula, by which the workers should immediately evacuate occupied factories, and no workman should be dismissed without the previous consent of a Commission appointed by the Government. After long discussions the masters declared that, while they could not accept the Premier's proposition, they would abide by it in the interests of peace. The Government Commission was formally constituted by a decree published on the morrow of the sitting. It was to consist of twelve members, six appointed by the Owners' Federation and six by the Labour Confederation. Its main object was to make suggestions for the Bill promised by the Government to 'organise industry on the basis of active intervention by the workers in the technical and financial control and in the administration of industry.' The Commission was also charged with settling difficult questions regarding wages, discipline, and dismissal.

Workers all over the country received the solution reached through the mediation of Signor Giolitti with great satisfaction. Signor D'Aragona, the secretary of the Labour Confederation, said that, if the principle of control were put into practice with sincerity, production would be intensified; while the Socialist organ 'Avanti!' commenting on the agreement in its issue of Sept. 21, wrote: 'It is a victory not only for the metal-workers, but also for Signor Giolitti. Control means collaboration; and, if it is seriously carried out, it will inevitably lead to the workers becoming interested co-operators with capitalist directors.'

Digitized by Google

But the optimistic view that the agreement had put an end to the crisis was not borne out by subsequent fact. While the Labour Confederation and the Federation of Metal Workers stood loyally by their engagements, the Syndicalist Union, which had always shown independence, began to urge the workers to keep their hold on the occupied factories. It soon became apparent that the Union was making efforts to capture the position hitherto held by the Labour Cenfederation in the economic sphere, and to use its new powers for the political purpose of plunging the industrial regions of Italy into a revolution. On their side the industrial owners and manufacturers proclaimed that with the adoption of the principle of control it would be impossible to run industry on business lines. Some, notably four large companies in Milan, preferred to close down their workshops and to dismiss the workers rather than to continue to work what they termed a losing concern. A similar step was taken by the large metal and shipbuilding works of Ansaldo-San Giorgio at Spezia, which declared a lock-out. Meanwhile Labour leaders were not so sure that the workers were in a position to take a responsible part in the management of industry. What was more serious, the workers lacked the sympathy and support of technicians and salaried managers and employees, who sided with the owners practically everywhere throughout the Peninsula. Even extremist leaders began to ask themselves what would be the consequences of a revolution in a country essentially dependent on others for its wheat and its coal.

These and other wise counsels prevailed at the meeting of the 'Centrist' Socialists at Reggio-Emilia in the middle of October 1920. Russian revolutionary methods were repudiated; and the foundations were laid for the secession of the Communists from the Socialist Party which was to follow later. These decisions were also not a little inspired by the reaction in public opinion which now began to manifest itself. Already, on the occasion of the celebrations of the 'Venti Settembre,' imposing manifestations of national sentiment were held, in which 100,000 people participated and cheers were given for the King, the Army, and the representatives of the redeemed territories. These symptoms of a

Digitized by Google

change in public feeling encouraged the Government to adopt a new front towards extremist agitation. Hitherto it had pursued a policy of *laisser-faire*, and had only intervened when Socialist agitators were guilty of obvious infractions of the criminal code. Now, however, measures were passed for a temporary suppression of all open-air meetings; and orders were given for the arrest of Malatesta, editor of the Anarchist organ 'Umanità Nuova,' and of his collaborators.

Demonstrations on a grand scale being the usual means of rousing popular feeling in Italy, two opportunities presented themselves about this time, which greatly aided the Nationalists in their propaganda. The first was in connexion with the celebration of the second anniversary of the Italian victory over the Austro-Hungarian Empire on Nov. 4. The day was dedicated to an expression of the nation's gratitude to the Army—an expression which took the form of a collective decoration by the King of the colours of all the regiments which took part in the war. The idea of sacrifice was conveyed by the massing of the colours around the 'Altare della Patria,' set up at the base of the National Monument in Piazza Venezia. The triumph that followed on the sacrifice found adequate expression in the frenzied enthusiasm which rose spontaneously from the surging masses witnessing the ceremony.

A similar demonstration was held in Rome on the eve of the municipal elections, which took place throughout Italy on Nov. 7. The elections were regarded as a referendum among the Italian people on the question of Revolutionary Socialism against Constitutionalism. Every one was now aware that the time was ripe for a decisive pronouncement one way or the other. An attempt was made to patch up an anti-Socialist coalition, which, however, met with a very partial success in the North and the Centre. In Rome a record vote of 55 per cent. was registered; and 39,000 votes were cast for the Constitutional *Bloc* against 21,000 for the Socialists. The Roman bourgeoisie, proverbially apathetic regarding participation in politics, was roused from its lethargy by an imposing procession in the streets on the day preceding the election. A crowd of several thousands marched from Piazza del Popolo down the Corso to the

Digitized by Google

National Monument. Next morning the streets were full of people bound for the booths, all grimly intent on defeating the Socialists. All wished to vote, though many had never handled a voting card in their lives. Still, goodwill had its reward; and towards evening it was known that the Socialists had suffered a crushing defeat.

These demonstrations in the capital were the signal and the prelude of a great Nationalist revival. An energetic response came from the provinces, where the arrogance of the Socialists became henceforth the object of special hatred and attack. The first serious encounter between Nationalists and Socialists occurred at Bologna on Nov. 21, when the Municipal Council of that city held its opening sitting. The Socialist councillors were in the majority; and the hoisting of a red flag on the Town Hall caused the Nationalist mob to rush the building. The total toll of the affray was eight persons killed, including two municipal councillors, and about sixty wounded. The Government could no longer remain neutral. Widespread sympathy with D'Annunzio and the growing dissatisfaction of the Nationalists with the Treaty of Rapallo were echoed in the conversations and intrigues in the lobbies of Montecitorio. A split began to manifest itself within the Government Coalition; and rumours were heard of an imminent dissolution of the Chamber and the resignation of the Ministry. The eyes of Signor Giolitti were opened to the necessity of appeasing the national sentiment by showing less partiality towards the Socialists.

Besides the weakening influences exercised on Italian Socialism from without, the split in the Party which followed the Congress opened at Leghorn on Jan. 15, 1921, gave a fresh impetus to the reaction. Henceforth, it was thought, Socialism would be torn by internal divisions, and would be rent by the great struggle for mastery between the two radically opposed groups, the partisans of progressive evolution and of violent revolution respectively. The history of the Italian Socialist Party has been one of divisions and regroupings. In 1892, at the Congress of Genoa, Socialism triumphed over Anarchism; while in 1907, in Florence, the majority broke up into Marxists and Syndicalists, with a victory for the former. Six years later, at the

Digitized by Google

Congress of Reggio-Emilia, the international character of Marxian Socialism was saved by the formation of the 'Official' Socialist Party and the secession of the Reformist Socialists. The split which occurred at Leghorn was not, therefore, an unusual event in the history of Italian Socialism. The peculiar feature was the fact that the group which came out with a majority could not be stable, but, as is already apparent, would eventually be absorbed in the ranks of either the Marxists or the Communists. The group which secured this ephemeral victory at Leghorn was that which had clustered round Menotti Serrati, editor of the 'Avanti!'

Three causes militate against the Russian method of establishing a proletarian dictatorship in Italy. First and foremost, the proletariat itself is not sufficiently educated to assume power and to maintain it with any hope of success. Secondly, a deep cleavage separates the brain-workers from the manual workers, rendering any kind of collaboration between the two altogether out of the question. Lastly, even if the dictatorship be firmly established, the geographical and economic position of Italy is such that the ostracism of capitalistic States would stifle it in a few months. These reasons against the adoption in Italy of the methods of the Moscow International have been strengthened by contact with their results as exemplified in Russia. On his return from that country, Serrati frankly confessed on every public occasion that he was not ready to sacrifice Italy's cultural and economic development on the altar of Moscow. A large number of the more intellectual leaders saw things in the same light; and, as Lenin and Zinovieff became more aggressive in their despotic demands, the Serrati group drew into its fold many eminent men from the left Socialist wing.

Serrati's group calls itself 'Unitarian Communism.' It stands for Communism against the State Socialism of the Marxists, as the only means of effecting a just distribution of wealth; but it seeks to preserve unity by disavowing the violent methods of the Moscow Internationalists and by respecting the methods that have been employed with success by organised Italian Labour for improving general economic welfare. It is a brilliant, if temporary, synthesis of the various tendencies which,

Digitized by Google

until quite recently, existed among the Italian wage-earning classes. Nevertheless, despite its prestige and its triumph at Leghorn, Unitarian Communism cannot be more than a temporary phase. Even in the mind of its founder it was nothing but an endeavour to preserve unity among the leaders. The ultimate decisive influence rests with the masses, especially as they are represented by the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro. The Confederation has been rent by two opposing tendencies. The more thoughtful leaders incline towards Turati, and are not averse from the progressive capture of power by democratic means. On the other hand, a considerable number of labour unions, which are notorious for their hot-headedness, are also represented by able men. Consequently Serrati's victory at Leghorn was only nominal.

Another factor that has largely influenced the shifting composition of the various Socialist groups within the last twelve months has been the growth of the anti-Socialist reaction known by the name of 'Fascismo.' This movement has developed from the patriotic and nationalistic programme of the 'Fasci dei Combattenti,' or clubs of ex-service men, and more particularly of officers, which were formed after the war. At first valuable organisations for the defence of the interests of former soldiers, the Fasci gradually admitted as members large numbers of young men whom the war had left without any certain means of livelihood, and who were too proud or too lazy to work with their hands. The element thus introduced into the Fasci was a turbulent one; and the Fascisti formed excellent material for such military adventures as that of Gabriele D'Annunzio. A considerable proportion of the poet's legionaries in Fiume was drawn from the Fasci in different Italian towns; and, so long as the more bellicose found vent for their feelings in bolstering up a hopeless imperialist dream, the country itself was left in comparative quiet. When, however, the legionaries returned to their homes, without employment and with more leisure on their hands, they became more discontented than ever. The object of their hatred and envy became the *operaio*, or worker, who not only was relatively well off but was beginning to be felt as a power in shaping the political destiny of his country. Propaganda based on vague national sentiment and

Digitized by Google

economic jealousy was worked up among students and *impiegati*, with the result that the Fasci soon became regular breeding-grounds of youthful turbulence.

The industrial and commercial classes and the landed proprietors would have been more than human had they refused to make use of the ready-found organisation of the Fasci in order to defend themselves against the assaults of Labour. Money was all that was wanting to the Fascisti; and financial assistance was not grudged them by the classes opposed to Labour. The methods employed by the Fascisti are those of violence; and their growing numbers are rendering them less hesitating in the exercise of force. Their efforts are mainly directed against Labour organisation and Socialist propaganda in any form. Labour newspaper offices and *Camere del Lavoro* have been destroyed by them; Socialist literature has been burnt; workmen's meetings have been broken up; and Socialist leaders present in cities other than their own have been forcibly marched to the railway stations and compelled to return to the places whence they came.

During the first three months of 1921 the Fascisti let loose a veritable Terror throughout the length and breadth of Italy. Accustomed as the Italians are to violent manifestations of party passion, they were shocked by the daily reports, in a crescendo of revolting details, from towns so far apart as Bari and Trieste, of fatal encounters, murders, and the destruction of property. The accounts of vendettas by the peasants of the south-eastern provinces against the landowners were followed by the story of three bloody days in Florence, then by the news of the burning of the great shipbuilding yard of San Marco di Trieste, and by the report of the bomb outrage at the Diana Kursaal in Milan, and the damage done to the railways in the North. In the Central Provinces there was scarcely a town which did not witness fatal conflicts between the opposing factions of Fascisti and Socialists. The total toll of human life ran into hundreds; the wounded were counted in thousands; and the destruction of property at the San Marco yard alone was estimated at more than 30,000,000 lire.

Amid the frequency and fierceness of these class-battles, which seemed to threaten the country with civil

Digitized by Google

war, the Government affected an attitude of neutrality, in which, however, a certain leaning towards the Fascisti could be detected. It is true that Carabinieri, Royal Guards, and troops were called out to restore order wherever trouble occurred; but their intervention was lukewarm except when the Fascisti were getting the worst of it. The Government Press, too, was full of accounts of the prowess of the Fascisti, while the Socialists were invariably qualified as *sovversivi*, as against the phrase *partito dell' ordine* applied to their adversaries. The fact is, the Government was looking ahead; and, seeing that a dissolution of Parliament in the near future was inevitable, it began to count on a revival of the national idea as a means of ridding itself through a general election of the preponderance in Parliament of the Socialist and Popular parties, making government impossible without the support of one or other. The nearness of a parliamentary crisis made itself felt first of all through the obstructionist tactics of the Socialists, which delayed the passing of the Bread Bill by more than three months, the delay having disastrous effects on the economic situation of the country all the while. The State bread subsidy, which the Socialists appeared to wish to maintain, was rapidly increasing the Treasury deficit, which was close on the amazing amount of twelve billion lire under this head alone. The situation was reflected in the depreciation of the lira, which was at its lowest in February 1921.

The other trouble hastening the political crisis was the constant threat of a split in the Government Coalition. The discord reached a climax in February, when Signor Benedetto Croce, the Minister of Public Instruction, brought forward his scheme of a far-reaching educational reform embodying the principles of Signor Giolitti's programme, which had rallied both Liberals and Catholics to his standard. The scheme was approved in its entirety by the Cabinet; but, when it came before the Parliamentary Commission of Fine Arts and Public Instruction, two of its principal provisions, one of which was that relative to the holding of State examinations, were rejected by a large majority. The Liberals, who had been unanimous in supporting the Government's concessions to the Catholics six months before, now

Digitized by Google

recanted, and thus paved the way for a split in the parliamentary majority.

No doubt an element of genuine alarm, and, in some degree, traditional spite, may have accounted for the opposition of the Liberals to Signor Croce's scheme, but a deeper and truer explanation lay outside the range of education altogether. The discussion of Signor Giolitti's Bill for the democratic control of industry was now drawing near; and it was no secret that a large number of the Premier's Liberal followers were strongly opposed to the principles on which it was based. On the other hand, there would be no political grounds on which a Ministerialist deputy could maintain his opposition once the Bill was read in the Chamber. Rather, therefore, than face the possibility of a conflicting attitude when the Labour Control Bill came up for discussion, the Liberals seized on the educational reforms as a pretext for precipitating the crisis.

Discord and divisions in the very heart of the Constitutionalist majority continued to grow; and, though the manœuvre to defeat the Government on educational questions failed, influential Liberals now championed the cause of the inclusion of Port Baros within the territory of Fiume and challenged the policy of Count Sforza in London. It was clear that the transaction of any serious parliamentary business was becoming impossible, especially as the abstention of Ministerialist deputies from the Chamber was a frequent cause of the sittings being suspended, owing to the absence of the legal quorum. Moreover, the country, or rather the bourgeois Press, was loudly clamouring for the dissolution of Parliament, on the ground that the Chamber, elected sixteen months before in abnormal circumstances, no longer represented the nation in the present stage of its evolution.

The fatal encounters between Fascisti and Socialists, which had become a regular feature of Italian life in every part of the country, were but the reflexion of the great struggle that was now being fought in Parliament. Both forces were strong, and both were growing in power and organisation. Although Socialism had had the lead, Nationalism, under the impulse of the Fasci, had rallied to its standard in a short time the most powerful

Digitized by Google

means of propaganda and effective action. A section of the Press, both in the capital and in the provinces, which six months before had showed itself sympathetic to the demands of Labour, now veered completely round to the cause of Fascism. The Fascist terror increased in intensity; and Socialist propaganda was everywhere baulked by the Fascisti.

In these circumstances it was not surprising that the Socialists were ready to go to any lengths in order to postpone the dreaded dissolution of Parliament. A general election at a time when Socialism had lost much of its prestige, and when it had been overshadowed by the nationalistic force of Fascism, appeared as if it would reduce the Socialist seats by at least one-half. The Catholics, on their part, also feared a general election because they believed that it would result in a new national coalition, of such strength as to enable it to dispense with their aid. They would thus lose the privileged position which they occupied.

It was suggested by the extreme Socialist Left that, in case the Premier proceeded to the dissolution, the Socialist municipalities (numbering about two thousand throughout the country) should resign, and that Parliament should be boycotted by abstention. Neither of those suggestions found favour with the Parliamentary Party; and it was decided, instead, to avert the dissolution, if possible, by consenting not only to vote with the Government but also to participate in the Ministry. A declaration to this effect was made by the Socialist leader Modigliani at the last sitting of the late Chamber before it rose for the Easter recess. He plainly intimated that the Socialists would be ready to collaborate with the Government in order to carry out the legislation promised by the Premier in favour of Labour, notably the control of industry by the workers. He also added a warning that Italian Labour was not going to be cheated of that legislation—to which the Government had given its solemn pledge—by the dissolution of the Chamber. Despite these overtures, and the threat of the Socialists to abstain from the elections, the Chamber was dissolved by royal decree on April 7, 1921; and May 15 was fixed as the day for the general election. In yielding to the Fascist agitation, Signor Giolitti hoped

Digitized by Google

that his supporters would be increased in virtue of a supposedly widespread nationalist revival. In the statement accompanying the Royal decree, the Premier left no doubt as to the kind of Chamber which, in his opinion, the interests of the country demanded. The Constitutionalist element should be sufficiently strong to ensure the passing of all Government measures for the economic restoration of the country.

The issue that was to be fought at the elections was clear in the eyes of all Italians. On the one side were the so-called parties of order; on the other those which stood for social revolution. The fight was to be between a National Coalition composed of some half a dozen parties hitherto antagonistic, and the Socialists, more united, more compact, but less favoured (so it was thought) by the electorate. No effort was spared during the pre-electoral period to bring the various Constitutionalist parties together, with the object of forming a national *Bloc*, which was the supreme hope of all those who regarded the defeat of the Socialists as essential for the regeneration of their country. But the task was soon found to be not at all an easy one; and the effort to accomplish it never achieved more than a halting success. Political differences, accentuated by years of opposition, could not be obliterated in one day. Where the national sentiment was strong, as in the capital and in the redeemed provinces, some headway was made towards an *entente* between the Constitutionalists. But, even there, the Republicans, the Catholics, and the Reformist Socialists still held out, while in the industrial centres the Democrats and the Radicals were not able to adopt the programmes of the Liberals of the Right. On the other hand, a pervading consciousness of approaching national resurrection was working steadily for the Coalition. The country felt itself stronger economically and morally than it had two years before.

The Socialists were really assisted by the excessive zeal—to put it mildly—displayed by the Fascisti. The organisation, which had quickened the national sentiment into action and had roused liberal democracy from its lethargy, had not learned the lesson of the dangers that follow on trespassing the limits imposed on every political fighting force. The Fascist attacks on organised

Digitized by Google

Labour by the systematic destruction of its head-quarters were viewed by impartial observers in the same light as the equally reprehensible excesses of the Socialists; though at the time they mistakenly thought that they had the whole country behind them. The Socialists were not slow in taking advantage of the situation developed by the tactlessness of the Fascisti. In their manifestoes they raised the alarm against the violence of the 'White Reaction,' and the disaster that would follow for the proletariat were the *Bloc* returned to power, borne on the shoulders of Fascism. The propaganda had its effect, especially on the class of employees who had hitherto sided with the bourgeoisie. Just before the Chamber was dissolved, the expectation was general that a new Parliament would deal a death-blow to the Parliamentary Socialist Party; but very soon after the opening of the electoral campaign it was clear that the Government and the bourgeois Press had made a great mistake.

The *Bloc* was virtually defeated before the election took place. The idea was that an appeal to the electorate would result in a strong national coalition consisting of a Liberal Democratic majority, flavoured with a sprinkling of Nationalists, enough to maintain the traditions of Italy as a nation and a power, but not numerous enough to initiate a period of reaction, and so block the path of liberal reforms on which the country had entered in recent years. What happened in actual fact was entirely different. Generally speaking, the Fascisti had it all their own way in the formation of the electoral lists. The national *Bloc* miscarried. The single electoral list, with the names of candidates drawn from the leading Constitutionalist parties, was seldom seen.

In the North and the Centre, the Constitutionalists signally failed to agree. The consequence was the presentation of several lists headed and organised by Fascisti of various shades of political opinion, with a name here and there of a candidate professing to belong to one or other of the traditional parties. There were lists of Fascisti, sincerely professing the faith of a national regeneration; but there were also lists of Fascist *parvenus* in politics financially supported by the *pescicani*, or profiteers. The plain truth was that the

Digitized by Google

Fascist reaction had defeated its own ends. Demagogy in politics, which had disgusted the nation with the Socialists, had merely shifted its centre of gravity to Fascism. Neither the country nor the Government now wanted a Fascist Parliament, and they said so openly. Fascism was permissible as a form of reprisals against Socialist excesses, but it could never be tolerated as an expression of the nation's will.

The result of the general elections of May 15 showed clearly that Italy is determined not to quit the path of social progress upon which it has definitely entered. A coalition founded on a reactionary movement was defeated. It was soon seen that the new Chamber was so constituted that only a regrouping of the progressive parties could make a stable Government possible. The Socialists were returned with a loss of only fourteen seats, and the Communists with a loss of three. Moreover, the Popular Catholic Party, without which the Government had been unable to function in the last Legislature, actually augmented its number of seats in Parliament. Worst of all, the Constitutionalists, who had formed a comparatively homogeneous group in the previous Chamber, now embraced such heterogeneous elements as Nationalists, Fascisti, Radicals, Democrats, Reformists, Liberals of the Right, War Veterans, and Agrarians. A National Coalition Government was impossible in the new Parliament.

Prolonged conversations between Government representatives and party leaders and among party leaders themselves only showed how hopeless was the task of forming a parliamentary majority out of the new Chamber. It was equally apparent that with the Giolitti Government still in power the problem would stand no chance of a solution. It is true there was talk that the Premier would welcome the Socialists if they decided to depart from their policy of not participating in the Government; but a large number of new Socialist deputies were resolutely opposed to supporting a Ministry which, as they held, had dissolved the Chamber with the intention of defeating their party at the elections.

In these circumstances, the Giolitti Cabinet resigned soon after the opening of Parliament in June 1921. The task of forming a new Government bristled with

Digitized by Google

difficulties; but, after a crisis lasting over a week, Signor Bonomi, a former Socialist and Minister of War, succeeded in assuring himself of a majority among the groups of the Centre and the Moderate Left. His Cabinet excludes the reactionary elements which provoked the last general elections; and consequently the three parties of the Right—the Nationalists, the Fascisti, and the Democratic Liberals, supporters of Signor Giolitti—have passed into opposition. No sooner had the new Government been formed than intrigues were begun to overthrow it. The most formidable was an anti-clerical move made by the Democrats, who sought a more powerful combination including a large Liberal element, and directed against the presence of several Catholics in the Government. For a moment it seemed as if the days of the Bonomi Cabinet were numbered. But the Socialists scented the Liberal danger and detected the intrigues for the formation of a new national *Bloc*. When, therefore, the new combination agreed with the finding of the Electoral Board confirming the election of an ex-Minister under Signor Giolitti, the Socialists at once sided with the Catholics and defeated the Liberal-Democrats by twenty votes. This and other failures afforded ample evidence that the Bonomi Government could not easily be replaced, and that any further endeavour to precipitate a crisis would be to play an unpatriotic game.

If the Chamber appeared to be hesitating in its support of Signor Bonomi, there was no doubt that the country generally was with him. At the very outset he took a firm stand against all the factions which were trying to undermine the authority of the State. Fascist violence tried to show its head again, but the action of the Government was prompt. On July 21 about a thousand Fascisti organised a 'punitive expedition' to avenge the death of two of their comrades, alleged to have been hung by the Communists of Sarzana near Spezia. They were, however, met by a large force of Carabinieri, which had been summoned to preserve order, and were obliged to beat a hasty retreat, after leaving 27 killed and many wounded.

Two days after this incident, the Bonomi Cabinet emerged triumphant with a majority of 166 on a vote of confidence taken before the summer recess. The

Digitized by Google

concluding words of the Premier on this occasion were: 'We bind ourselves to accomplish the task of reconstruction and pacification, and we ask of the Chamber whether we have enough force, enough energy, and enough authority to carry that task through.' In applauding this sentiment the Chamber was conscious that it was responding to the will of the nation. Whether the Bonomi Government will survive the session of Parliament that has just begun (1921) will largely depend on its ability to terminate the Fascist-Socialist feud, which is a constant menace to the internal peace of the country. Through the Premier's own initiative and the direct intervention of Signor de Nicola, the Speaker, peace between the two factions was signed at the beginning of August 1921; but soon afterwards several important Fascist groups refused to abide by the terms of the agreement—a defection which brought about the resignation from the Central Executive Committee of the Fasci of Benito Mussolini, the idolised Fascist leader and editor of the Fascist organ, 'Il Popolo d'Italia.' Mussolini has been regarded as the symbol of national regeneration for which Fascism stood, at best, in its idealistic significance. His resignation, therefore, meant the defeat of the nobler elements of Fascism and the triumph of the undisciplined turbulence of the more or less organised groups whose only bond of coherence is the exercise of force.

Another factor making for the continuation of Italy's internal crisis is the resolution adopted by the Socialist Party Congress at Milan in October 1921, by which the traditional policy of Italian Socialism not to collaborate with a bourgeois Government will be maintained. One of the main incentives in the minds of the signatories of the peace between the Fascisti and the Socialists was the growing movement among the latter towards collaboration. Prominent Socialist leaders, like Turati, Modigliani, Treves, and D'Aragona, are of opinion that this abstention from Government is doing harm to the Socialist cause, and should be given up. Mussolini and other Fascist leaders of the more balanced type are also of the opinion that the interests of the nation demand that the Socialists take a share in the Government. Thus for the moment the vote of the Milan

Digitized by Google

Congress has wrecked the hope of bringing the bourgeois and proletarian classes together in the government of the country—a hope that prompted the signing of the Socialist-Fascist peace.

Despite, however, Serrati's second victory at Milan, nine months after his first at Leghorn, Socialist participation in the Government has not been ruled out completely. The Labour Confederation is becoming growingly hostile to the Communist Party and the Third International; and Serrati may yet discover that his policy is leading to a catastrophic revolution which Italian Labour is now determined at all costs to avoid. Another ground of hope is the present widespread belief in Italy in the necessity of the rehabilitation of State authority, which means of course the disintegration of the Fascist movement. The essence of Fascism is the usurpation of the powers of the State by an organised faction within the State. Although the majority of the Fascisti have been and still are animated by the best of patriotic motives, their ardour has blinded them to the fact that their methods lead straight to anarchy. Reconstruction at home and prestige abroad cannot be secured by the aimless activities of an organisation largely inspired by a desire to discredit Parliament. As for the Fascisti themselves, they know that their power is on the wane. Manifestoes, demonstrations, and violent attempts to reduce the cost of living have been some of the means recently employed by the Fascist leaders to win back popular favour. But it is too late. The nation has lost its confidence in Fascism, and is once more looking to its own Constitutional Government for salvation.

VINCENT BUGEJA.

Digitized by Google

Art. 11.—RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY BEFORE THE WAR.

1. *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Ententepolitik der Vorkriegsjahre.* Herausg. von B. von Siebert, ehemaliger Sekretär der Kaiserlich-Russischen Botschaft in London. Berlin & Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1921.
2. *Aus den Geheim-Archiven des Zaren; ein Beitrag zur Frage nach den Urhebern des Weltkrieges.* Von M. Pokrowski, Volkskommissar für Schul- und Bildungswesen in Moskau. Berlin: Scherl, 1919.
3. *Kriegsursachen; Beiträge zur Erforschung der Ursachen des Europäischen Krieges mit spezieller Berücksichtigung Russlands und Serbiens.* Von Dr M. Boghitschewitsch, ehemaligem Serbischen Geschäftsträger in Berlin. Zürich: Füssli, 1919.

THOSE who have occupied themselves in investigating the causes of the war will know that a peculiar importance attaches to the actions and wishes of the Russian Government; and it is on this point that the controversy, which is being continually kept alive in Germany, especially turns. It is not merely the general mobilisation of the Russian forces at the end of July, but the whole course of Russian policy during the previous years, which has to be considered. The case, as put by the more responsible German writers, is that, while it may doubtless be true that Sir Edward Grey did not himself desire war, he allowed himself by the Entente with Russia to be entangled into a position in which it was within the power of the Russian Government at any time to provoke a war, from which, when it had once begun, Great Britain could not stand aloof. This criticism has received influential support here, as for instance from Lord Loreburn; and it is one which cannot be neglected by any one who wishes to get at the real truth. It might quite well be that the British Government, while honestly using every method to keep peace, had put itself in a position in which all its efforts were necessarily frustrated. In these circumstances, anything which will throw light upon Russian policy in the years before the war is important.

Of such revelations we have had many. One of the

Digitized by Google

first acts of the new Bolshevik Government, after the Revolution of November 1917, was to publish in the pages of the 'Pravda' selections from the secret documents which they had found in the archives of the Russian Foreign Office. The object was avowedly to persuade the world that the responsibility of the war rested not merely with the German Government, but with those of all the nations of Europe, and to stir up public feeling against the capitalist system, of which war, as they represented, was the inevitable outcome. Since that time these disclosures have been the basis and text of nearly all that has been written on the origins of the war by critics of the Allies. Here was to be found, as it seemed, a convenient escape from the charge that the sole responsibility rested upon Germany. Even if the adverse view generally taken of the acts and motives of the former German Government were maintained, it was something if it could be shown that they were not alone in their crimes and in their blunders.

The importance of this aspect of the controversy was increased by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, for in it the sole responsibility of Germany for the war is asserted; and this is made the basis on which the demands of the reparation chapter are justified. Anything therefore is seized on by the German Government and the German nation which will tend to alter this view; and the German case on Responsibilities, as presented to the Conference, was largely based on these Russian documents.

It is much to be regretted that it has always been impossible to procure a complete and systematic collection of all the papers originally published by the Bolsheviks. We have had to depend on the quotations and selections made in controversial writings. It was, however, from the beginning quite obvious that these formed very unsatisfactory material on which to base an historical judgment. They were merely isolated documents chosen for propaganda purposes out of a great mass of material; and any one who has studied these matters knows how misleading any conclusion may be unless one has the whole correspondence before him. For this reason we welcome a new and important publication, which appeared during the summer of last

Digitized by Google

year in Germany, containing a great mass of Russian diplomatic correspondence between the years 1908 and 1914. We have here for the first time, not merely in extracts, the whole working of the Russian diplomatic machine, the secret telegrams and despatches interchanged between the Government at Petrograd and the Ambassadors in London, Paris, and Rome.

Before examining the work, a word must be said as to its origin. Many questions are raised to which it is not easy to find an answer. The editor of the work is a Herr von Siebert, who was attached to the Russian Embassy in London for some years before the war. He tells us that he had always intended to write a history of the events which he was watching, but he has now given up this intention and prefers merely to publish the documents on which such a history would have been based. But how has it come about that a former Secretary of Embassy finds himself in possession of copies of this great mass of secret material? It is not customary for men in this position to take away with them the confidential archives which pass through their hands. We note also that the book is published in Germany and in German. The originals of the documents were either in Russian, in French, or in English. Why take the trouble to translate them into German, a language which comparatively few people understand? May we not bring these facts into connexion with another statement—that even before the war the German Government regularly received copies of the correspondence between Petrograd and London? All that passed between M. Sazonoff and Count Benckendorff found its way to the Wilhelmstrasse:

'According to the disclosures of Prof. Schiemann, who recently died, a German diplomatist succeeded in 1908 in persuading a Russian official to keep on supplying him with copies of all the instructions which were sent from the Russian Foreign Office to the Ambassador, Count Benckendorff, in London. In this way more than a hundred documents from the years 1908 to 1914 came into the possession of the Berlin Foreign Office' ('Süddeutsche Monatshefte,' Juli 1921, p. 5).

The dates, it will be noted, precisely coincide with those of the documents published in this volume. It is

Digitized by Google

to this that Bethmann Hollweg obviously refers in a note to his own memoirs (p. 110):

'Prof. Schiemann has charged me in the press with withholding from the Emperor important information as to the dangers of our situation. The charge fails. I never attempted to deceive the Emperor about our difficulties. Moreover, the essential facts from those reports of secret origin, with the translation of which Prof. Schiemann was officially charged, were laid before the Emperor. In communicating information from this source I indeed begged the Emperor to excuse me from informing him as to their origin, and he fully agreed.'

In these circumstances it is surely not improper to suggest that the documents which Herr von Siebert is publishing are, at least in part, those which have long been in the possession of the German Foreign Office, and that he is acting now as their agent. On the other hand, we have to note that, so early as March 1921, very full extracts from these documents were published as part of the anti-English propaganda in the press of the United States. An introductory note there states that they had come into the possession of the Bolshevik Government, and implies that it is from the Bolsheviks that the text has been obtained. The note, however, goes on to say that the British Government paid 2,500,000 dollars for their suppression. This is a story which during recent months has repeatedly appeared in anti-British propaganda; we are asked to believe that the Foreign Office, conscious that they would be compromised if the official correspondence became known, instructed Sir George Buchanan to purchase the copies which the Russian Government had in their possession; and it is generally implied that Sir George Buchanan did so. Of course the story is completely untrue; it is a wanton fabrication, for which there is no authority of any kind. It is probably equally untrue that the American press got them from the Bolsheviks; it seems more probable that they come from the secret archives of the German Foreign Office.

But if, as appears then to be probable, the German Government during the years before the war had seen much of the confidential correspondence of the Entente Powers, and in particular that between Russia and this

Digitized by Google

country, this is a matter of the highest importance towards an interpretation and criticism of the acts of the German Government. There was one conclusion which must have been forced upon them by it. England was not manœuvring for war with Germany; on the contrary, in every crisis, as it came up, the whole efforts of the British Government were used towards finding a peaceful solution. To them at the time, as to us now, the most interesting parts of the correspondence are the letters in which Count Benckendorff attempts to explain to his Government the attitude of the British Government and the British nation towards the Entente and Russia. The whole may be summed up in a single phrase. After discussing the Haldane mission of 1912 he says: 'Germany remains always, if not the enemy, at any rate the danger. Germany is to blame that the fleets must continually be strengthened.' And again, a few weeks before, Sir Charles Hardinge said to him:

'I can only explain to you that according to our information in the Foreign Office, so long as there remains a question of naval armaments, the result, which in itself is desirable, of completely normal relations between Germany and England, will be unobtainable.'

It is this necessity of protecting herself against the menace of the German fleet which is the ultimate key to the whole of British policy; this it is which made the maintenance of the Entente with Russia so necessary. Of this Sir Edward Grey was so convinced that, as he explained on one occasion to Benckendorff, if the Entente broke down (and there were serious difficulties in Persia) he would himself resign; it would be the end to the whole of his career. But, as is pointed out again and again, and as becomes even more clear in the detailed handling of every separate point, England will not allow herself to be dragged into a conflict with Germany unless it is one arising either out of a case in which English interests, as in Morocco, are immediately concerned, or one in which Germany is clearly the aggressor. This latter point is explained in a letter written by Count Benckendorff during the time of the crisis arising out of the Balkan Wars. One of the conditions on which alone England would take part in a war, says he, was this:

Digitized by Google

'It is absolutely necessary that the responsibility for the attack should rest with our opponents. . . . In the eyes of public opinion in England, and consequently in the eyes of the English Government, the aggressor will in the present state of feeling here be in the wrong.'

He deduces from this that Russia herself must scrupulously avoid pressing points in which her interests alone were concerned, as for instance the Straits or Asia Minor; and we always find that, when any serious difficulty arose, Sir Edward Grey insisted that an attempt should be made to solve it, not by isolated action on the part of the Entente, but by bringing Germany in. He always set his face against the isolation of Germany, and steadily refused to participate in anything which might be interpreted as an attempt to separate Germany and Austria. As Benckendorff writes on Feb. 8, 1912:

'Germany has misinterpreted the so-called aggressive object of the policy of the Entente. The proverbial "iron ring" rests on an error. So far as I know, the Russian Government has not attempted to oppose the justified interests of Germany if they do not trespass on our interests. On the other side Sir Edward Grey, both publicly and in conversation with me, has always denied that he wished to isolate Germany. Every attempt, he has repeated to me, to destroy the Triple Alliance would be a blunder. In his opinion the isolation of Germany would be a real danger to peace. It is none the less true that, on every occasion when the German Government wished to establish interests where there were existing interests of other Powers, it has found itself opposed, not by one Power or another, but by a group of Powers. If this group is dissolved, the whole situation will be changed. Germany could then choose; and, thanks to her geographical position and her innate power, this would in reality mean the predominance of Germany.'

German writers who have tried to discredit the essentially defensive nature of the Entente, have generally referred to reports as to the conversations which took place at Reval in 1908. It has constantly been repeated by men who can speak with high authority, that on this occasion an agreement was made between England and Russia that they should go to war with Germany in 1916. We are now able for the first time to trace these reports

Digitized by Google

to their source. Iswolsky, in a letter of June 18, 1908, tells Benckendorff what had happened:

'Summing up Hardinge's different explanations, I must above all press the point that no attempt was made on his side to leave the ground of concrete arrangement and draw us into general political combinations. Sir Charles maintained that the London Cabinet completely shared our view that the interview at Reval need not cause any kind of anxiety in other States; so far as Germany is concerned, the British Government genuinely desires to maintain the best relations, and does not think that in the immediate future these relations will become accentuated for any reason. "None the less," said Sir Charles Hardinge to me, "we cannot refuse to recognise that, if Germany continues her naval armaments with the same accelerated speed, in seven or eight years a very anxious and acute situation may arise in Europe; then undoubtedly Russia will become the arbiter of the situation; and for this reason, in the interests of peace and for the maintenance of the balance of power, we desire that Russia shall be as strong as possible by land and sea." This was not merely Sir Charles Hardinge's personal opinion, but the definite political conviction of the Cabinet.'

There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of this report. During a discussion of the naval and military position of Russia, Sir Charles Hardinge quite naturally said that the proposed increase of the Russian navy would be useful, and it might in some years help to keep the peace. It is quite clear what was in his mind. This interview took place just at the time when the naval rivalry between this country and Germany was at its height. In eight or ten years the German fleet would be near its completion, and would have attained such dimensions as to be a serious menace to this country; Germany would have sixty battleships and cruisers. Every one could see that, if Germany succeeded in building a fleet so big as to be able seriously to challenge British naval supremacy, then her policy would be based upon the possession of this fleet; she would put forward demands which she would otherwise not have dared to propose, demands which this country could not accept; and in this case war would almost inevitably follow. The best means, in fact the only means, of ultimately avoiding war, was to prevent Germany obtaining a

Digitized by Google

predominance at sea equal to her predominance on land.

By themselves, then, these observations would call for little comment; they were only the recognition of the essential object of the Entente with Russia. Let us recollect that the meeting took place at a time when the relations of Russia to the Central Powers were on the whole friendly; it was before Aehrenthal, by his disloyal action later in the year, brought about an estrangement which was never really appeased. They have, however, a further history. Very shortly after the date at which this meeting took place, the very incorrect statements to which we have already referred began to appear in the German press. The simple and obvious fact, that a strong Russia would in some years be useful as a check to the growing naval strength of Germany, was perverted, and, we can hardly avoid saying, deliberately perverted, into the statement that England and Russia proposed to attack Germany in 1916. Very obviously there had been a leakage. It seemed at first as if this had taken place in Petrograd; from what we now know, it appears almost certain that, while the German Government were in possession of the true facts, they allowed these incorrect statements to be put about by men such as Count Reventlow.

It would be absurd to attempt in a short article any detailed investigation of the great mass of material dealing as it does with all the questions which came before the Foreign Offices during the five eventful years before the war, not only as to the direct relations between the Great Powers, but on matters such as the Baghdad Railway, British and Russian activities in Persia, and the relations of Russia and Japan. It will be more useful and more instructive to confine ourselves to a single topic; and we will take that which for many reasons is the most important, the position of Russia in the Balkans.

The conception which is often put before us is that of a Russia constantly working by intrigues and exhortations to stir up the Balkan States, and particularly Serbia, to provocative policy, which must inevitably lead, first to war with Austria, and secondly, to

Digitized by Google

European war. It is a picture which well fits in to the general idea that has prevailed as to the character of Russian policy and diplomacy; and it is easy, if we accept this, to build up a complete theory of the nature of the Entente and the origin of the war. Before accepting this, it would, however, be well to inquire what evidence there is for it. It is not sufficient, as most writers do, simply to refer vaguely to the activities of M. Hartwig, the Russian minister at Belgrade. These references are always vague; and no tangible evidence is brought forward as to the responsibility which is supposed to attach to him. Even if M. Hartwig were all that we are told that he was, it would not necessarily follow that he had the confidence, or was acting under the instructions of, his own Government. Russia is not the only country in the world which has from time to time been incommoded by the excessive zeal of subordinate officials.

As a matter of fact, the more evidence is forthcoming, the less does it appear to justify these representations. The facts seem to have been very different. It is indeed true that Serbian ambitions, especially those of the Radical party in Serbia, which had been in power since the assassination of King Alexander, were a great danger to European peace. The evidence we have in this volume is not that they were encouraged by Russia, but that the Russian Government did all in its power to keep them quiet. This, however, was not easy. The Serbians were really masters of the situation. They knew perfectly well that, if they chose to drive matters to an issue and to force a war with Austria-Hungary, even if in doing so they were acting contrary to the desires of the Russian Government, that Government would eventually be forced to interfere in order to support them, or at any rate to protect them from the consequences of their own action. No Russian Government could have stood impassively by and watched the Austrian armies overrun Serbia and make her a client state. A wave of passionate indignation would have arisen throughout the whole Russian Empire, which must necessarily have carried the Government with it. Moreover, from 1908 onwards, it was the definite purpose of the Austrian Government

Digitized by Google

to take the first favourable opportunity of forcing a war upon, and destroying, Serbia. For these reasons advice and remonstrances given by Russia to Serbia had to be very carefully worded; as Sazonoff says in 1914: 'It is difficult to bring influence to bear upon an excited nation, especially when one is not sure of success.' If they went too far, if they seemed to imply in any way that the Russian Government was giving up its interest in Serbia, then the Serbians would have broken loose and played the final card which they always had in their hands, or Austria would have struck.

What, therefore, the Russians had to do was, when any one of the constantly recurring crises arose, to do their utmost to keep Serbia quiet, while at the same time convincing her that she still had Russian sympathy and support, and would be protected against an unprovoked Austrian attack. Throughout the whole of the prolonged annexation crisis (1908–9), this was the policy which Russia pursued, and again at the time of the formation of the Balkan League (1912). It was often said that this League was formed by the Balkan States under the patronage and on the instigation of Russia, as a weapon against Austria-Hungary. It is quite clear that Russia, naturally enough, welcomed anything which would bring to an end the mutual jealousies and animosities between Bulgaria and Serbia, and lead to an alliance of these States as a counterpoise to that between Austria and Rumania; but it is also equally clear that the final formation of the League was the spontaneous act of the Balkan States themselves, and, in particular, that Russia was not directly responsible for those clauses of the League which implied immediate outbreak of war, though she was informed of them. On this matter the correspondence, which is supported by other evidence, is conclusive. We find, for instance, at the beginning of July 1912, Sazonoff telegraphing to Hartwig:

'I must ask you to continue to keep a watch on the development of the war feeling in Sofia. It appears, however, desirable to make the Bulgarians understand that, according to our very secret information, the possibility of immediate peace negotiations between Italy and Turkey is not excluded. These circumstances would deprive the Bulgarian advance of its practical basis and would change the present situation

Digitized by Google

very unfavourably to Bulgaria; Bulgaria would find herself alone against Turkey.'

At the same time the Russian Government was working, not only with the Entente, but also with Austria and Germany, in order to present to Turkey a scheme of reform, with the express object of providing a solution of the difficulties which would make war unnecessary. Its whole influence seems to have been used to try to persuade both Bulgaria and Serbia to accept some such scheme as a substitute for war. The situation was an extremely anxious one; the real key, however, was to be found not in Russian intrigues, but in the actual state of affairs in the Balkans themselves. It was the failure of the new Turkish Government, the troubles in Albania, the constant disorder and bloodshed in Macedonia—all matters taking place on the immediate frontiers of Serbia and Bulgaria—from which the disturbances arose. For these the Russian Government was not responsible; but in co-operation with the other European Powers, it strove its utmost to find a means of averting the catastrophe which the disturbances were tending to bring about.

The situation remained similar during the peace negotiations after the defeat of Turkey (1912). Here again we have the danger of a war between Serbia and Austria, which was deliberately aggravated by Austrian provocations. The attitude of the Russian Government was clearly defined and consistently acted on. Russia was not going to war in order to win for Serbia a port on the Adriatic; she would not support Serbia in her objections to the establishment of an Albanian State; and full pressure was brought to bear upon Serbia to force her to moderation in her demands. This is the text of numerous instructions to Hartwig and communications to the Serbian Government. On Nov. 9, 1912, Sazonoff telegraphed to Hartwig:

'The question of a Serbian approach to the Adriatic has during the last days developed in a way which causes us serious consideration. We are now ready, as before, together with France and England, to give Serbia active diplomatic support. According to reliable information, Germany and Italy are ready, together with Austria, to oppose territorial

Digitized by Google

annexations by Serbia on the Adriatic. We cannot exacerbate the quarrel on this point up to the danger of a European war. All the more unsuitable appears to us the attitude of some Serbian representatives abroad. We hear that the Serbian representative at Berlin has told Kiderlen that the Allies have already divided the whole Adriatic coast between them, and that Serbia was assured not only of Bulgarian, but also of Russian support.* So far as we are concerned, we consider any such declaration improper. The alliance gives Serbia no right to depend on the military support of Bulgaria on the question of Serbian access to the sea. The losses of Serbia and Bulgaria during the last war make a conflict with Austria appear hopeless from the beginning. The despatch of Serbian troops in the direction of Durazzo, against the occupation of which Austria will declare herself, is also a sign that Serbia is allowing herself to be drawn on.

'Tell Pachitch that the Serbians must not make our rôle as their advocate difficult. In the question of the access of Serbia to the Adriatic we distinguish between the object and the means. The object is the largest possible security of the economic independence of this country; the means are access to the Adriatic, either as the result of a territorial establishment on the coast or by means of a railway communication with some harbour or other under conditions like those which would eventually have been conceded to Austria for the transit of her goods to Salonica. If Serbia gives way on the question of acquiring a port of her own on the Adriatic, it will be possible to insist on the other conditions, as for example the territorial expansion of Serbia to the south, or the greatest possible diminution of Albanian territory. If Austria does not understand that it is in her interest to secure a lasting peace in the Balkans, we assume that Serbia, who comes out of the short war with conquests beyond what she could previously have hoped for, must now understand that by asking too much she will endanger what she has already attained. It lies in the interests of Serbia

* This refers to Herr von Boghitschewitsch, the Serbian Minister at Berlin. He has published an account of his activities, which appear to have been of a very remarkable character. He seems to have interpreted his duties as including that of warning the German Government against the designs not only of Russia, but also of his own Government. Whatever his reasons for doing this may have been, he seems to have suffered from a failing not uncommon among the inferior diplomatists of minor Powers. Not initiated into the inner secrets, he formed a hasty judgment from the scraps of information which came into his hands, and on this attempted to play an independent hand of his own.

Digitized by Google

not to stretch her demands too far, for the failure to fulfil them would injure Serbian feeling most seriously.'

This is followed by another telegram two days later in which similar language is used. The Serbians are warned that they must reckon with facts as they are. France and England have no intention of accentuating their conflict with the Triple Alliance for the sake of Serbian demands. The harsher the attitude of Serbia, the greater the danger that she will be isolated. Hartwig is instructed to speak quite openly to Pachitch and warn him against the expedition to Durazzo. Serbia ought not to put the Russians in a position in which they will have to separate themselves from her by publicly recognising that the Serbians have gone too far.

A few days later, Nov. 23, we find that Poincaré, alarmed about reports that Hartwig is stirring up the Serbians, was pressing Iswolsky to tell his Government that, in the present critical situation (Austria having just mobilised three army corps and completed her military preparations against Serbia), Serbia ought not to be able to say that she is acting on Russian advice, and that it must be made clear that, if she persists in her march to Durazzo, she does so at her own risk. Sazonoff therefore telegraphed to Benckendorff (Nov. 30):

'We are doing all that we can to influence the Serbians to give way; but our endeavours cannot be crowned with success unless the Serbians are convinced that we, on our side, are doing everything to protect their interests in a friendly manner, and that our endeavours are being supported by France and England.'

This is just the point we wish to make. Russia could not hold the Serbians back unless at the same time she could convince them that essential Serbian interests would be protected. On Dec. 10, Sazonoff telegraphed to Hartwig:

'The Serbian Minister has been instructed by his Government to inform me that they fear Austria will in the course of a week take a decisive step in order to force Serbia to give up an Adriatic port. . . . Austria wishes to have a ground for interference in order to bring the boundary of the new territorial acquisitions of Serbia as far east as possible.

Digitized by Google

Austria aims at the economic and political subjection of Serbia.'

On this M. Sazonoff formulated Russian policy as follows:

'We are ready to support the political and economic emancipation of Serbia and to get for her access to the Adriatic Sea through Albanian territory, and to insist that the boundary of Albania shall be pushed as far west as possible, but we are not of the opinion that it is possible to get for Serbia sovereign rights on a portion of the Adriatic coast. . . . We must have the assurance that Serbia will submit to a decision which has been arrived at in common by Russia, France, and England, for if she does not do so, Serbia cannot reckon on our support, as neither France nor England will support her in this. Neither we nor the friendly Powers can permit the decision as to a European war to be left to the Serbian Government. We believe, therefore, that the best means of avoiding complications would be the quickest possible declaration on the part of Serbia, that she will submit to the decision and advice of the Entente Powers in the matter of access to the Adriatic. In this way Serbia would avoid the danger of an Austrian ultimatum.'

Here, then, we find that Russia, as she always did, is putting constant pressure on Serbia to keep the peace.

Now, it is true that there have been published reports of conversations with Serbian representatives in which Russia is represented as holding out great hopes to Serbia in the future. At the very moment when Russia was doing all she could to avoid war, she was telling the Serbians to keep up their hopes, for their day would come in the future. The Tsar himself, we are told, in a conversation with Pachitch, expressed great interest in the future of Serbia and in her hopes for a fundamental increase of territory at the expense of Austria-Hungary. What else could he have done? Was he to tell the Serbian Prime Minister that Serbia had now reached the uttermost territorial expansion which was open to her, and that she must check all ambitions and renounce all hopes for the future? Had he done this, the only result would have been that the Serbians would have had recourse to the councils of despair in the way we have already indicated, and immediately seized, as they well might, one of the numerous occasions given by

Digitized by Google

Austria to bring about a war. To wait, to get over each crisis as it arose, in every case to go so far as, and no further than, his allies would allow, was surely the right course; and the Tsar could be quite sure that neither England nor France would associate themselves with any policy which meant a wanton provocation of war with Austria.

It is impossible indeed, in reading the correspondence, not to recognise that there was a very serious danger arising out of the complex system of alliances; and the Powers were always considering what their position would be, supposing Austria attacked Serbia. For the reason we have given it would have been very difficult for Russia to keep out of such a war, but Germany would have to support Austria as against Russia; in 1912 Kiderlen explained that Germany would do so even if France kept out. But France was equally united to Russia; and Poincaré, who knew what Kiderlen had said, assured Sazonoff that Russia could depend on the support of France under the existing alliances. This being the situation, everything depended on the attitude of Great Britain; but, whenever Benckendorff approached Grey, he always got the same answer. The action of England would depend upon circumstances; if there was a clear instance of German Austrian aggression, then the Entente would become operative; otherwise public opinion would not allow England to join in a war arising out of a Balkan dispute. And this explanation always proved sufficient in fact to prevent war. Theoretically it is true that Serbia could bring about a European war; what we have to notice is that in fact this never happened. The British and French Governments were quite aware of the danger and anticipated it. It would beforehand have appeared almost impossible that an event such as the Balkan war should be localised; Sir Edward Grey showed how it could be done.

How much light does all this throw on events which happened two years later? Then a similar crisis arose, but one infinitely less serious. It was one which could have been solved in precisely the same way as was that of 1912. If in one year war did not result and in the other year it did, the only reason is that on the latter

Digitized by Google

occasion Germany and Austria definitely took aggressive action, without any previous consultation with the other European Powers, in a way which unmistakably showed that the matter with which they were concerned was not merely the local question in the Balkans, but the general issue between the alliances.

There is reason to believe that the real view taken by those of the highest authority in Russia after the Balkan Wars was that it would be unnecessary and unwise to encourage Serbian aggression, for, as they saw it (and were they not right?), the future belonged to her. The time must come, sooner or later, when the growing feeling of Yugo-Slav solidarity would bear fruit. No good would come from hastening matters; they were quite prepared to wait; they would wait till the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph. It was quite obvious that whenever this event, which could not be long delayed, took place, there would be fundamental changes in Austria-Hungary; what form they would take no one could foresee. The accession of the Archduke Francis Joseph would almost certainly be followed by acute friction between Austria and Hungary; the dual system would break down; and the forces of disruption were so strong that it might be anticipated that the Monarchy would break up. Hungary and Bohemia would assert their claims to independence; the Rumanians of Transylvania would be attracted by the Kingdom; and then would come the time for the realisation of Serbian ambitions. All this must happen from causes over which the Russian Government had no control. It would be the result of bad statesmanship in Austria. Whether these great changes could take place without a European war was very doubtful; the collapse of Austria would be a great blow to Germany. But, on the other hand, it might have brought relief and led to a relaxation of the whole system of alliances.

There were of course real dangers arising not merely from Serbia, but from Russia herself. To deny this would be childish. Many illustrations could be found in this volume. We have first the unstable internal condition of Russia; and weakness at home is always a cause of danger abroad. Secondly, we have the intense bitterness caused by Aehrenthal's action in 1908, and the

Digitized by Google

desire to reassert Russian prestige. Benckendorff in one despatch refers to this, and tries to meet the danger by arguing that Russia had in 1912 shown that her position was completely re-established, and that she had been able to stop illegitimate Austrian pretensions. Thirdly, there was always the question of the Straits. This became acute in the autumn of 1912, when there was a danger that the Bulgarians might enter Constantinople, and again in the winter of 1913–4. What the Russians apprehended was that Germany, while avowedly maintaining the *status quo*, would give it a completely different aspect by gaining full control over Turkey; so that, while nominally defending the sovereignty of the Sultan, Germany would really be making Turkey a client.

It is curious to note that in 1877 Lord Salisbury saw a similar danger if Russia, instead of pressing for the partition of Turkey, aimed at controlling her. It was this danger which led to the very acute crisis over the Liman von Sanders affair. Light is thrown upon this by a curious expression used by Baron von Wangenheim; in a conversation he compared it to the situation which preceded the Franco-Prussian war and the difficulties over the Hohenzollern candidature in Spain. Every one will remember what those were. Bismarck, by bringing forward the election of a Prince of Hohenzollern to the Spanish crown, had created a situation very dangerous to France. The view on which he acted was, however, that protest must be directed not to Prussia, for that would lead to war, but to Spain. In the same way the Germans, by getting Liman von Sanders appointed Commander of the Turkish army corps stationed in Constantinople, had created a situation which, as all the Entente Powers agreed, was quite illegitimate. On this there was no difference of opinion. They would not be able to regard the Sultan as an independent Power, and the position of their own ambassadors would be seriously compromised, if a German were in command of the troops stationed in the capital. There was from the beginning absolute unanimity that this could not be permitted, but also great difficulty in finding a method of preventing it. At first the Russians were inclined to suggest protest to Berlin; against this Sir Edward Grey from the beginning set his face. It would have

Digitized by Google

produced just the danger at which Wangenheim hinted. It was at Constantinople and not at Berlin that action must be taken. But even at Constantinople they had to move very carefully; and there were long discussions as to whether the protest should be a joint protest by the ambassadors of the three Powers, or in the form of identical notes presented by each of them separately. Throughout these discussions we find England, supported by France, doing all that she could to remove the difficulty without giving needless affront to Germany.

In conclusion, we must refer for a moment to the proposed Anglo-Russian naval agreement of 1914. This, as is well known, has occupied a great place in recent controversy. We now get an insight into what really happened. The Russians were not quite satisfied with their position in the Entente; they felt that the relations of England and France were closer, more harmonious, more intimate than those of England and Russia. They did not know exactly what agreements had been come to between the other two Powers, for they had never seen the text of the well-known correspondence of 1912 establishing a military agreement. What they really aimed at was a definite alliance with this country. Against this Count Benckendorff had always warned them; again and again, in very carefully worded despatches, he had explained that it was quite out of the question. They hoped, however, to be able to use Sir Edward Grey's visit to Paris in company with the King and Queen, in order to get some closer union.

Sir Edward Grey met this demand, when it was made, with characteristic frankness. The first thing to do was to calm what we may perhaps call the jealousy of the Russians by showing them precisely what were our written agreements with France; by this they would understand that there was nothing in the nature of an alliance. The communication of the military conversations at once aroused a desire in Russia that they should have something of the same kind. A military arrangement with Russia was obviously quite out of the question; they then asked for a naval arrangement in accordance with which plans should be made for co-operation between the two fleets in the case of war. To

Digitized by Google

this Sir Edward Grey raised no objection; and indeed there was none. But we may be allowed at this point to observe that any such naval arrangement must in fact have been of comparatively small importance. In the case of war with Germany, as events were to show, the Russian navy would clearly be shut up in the Baltic, a sea to which the British navy would not be able to penetrate. In the same way the Russian Black Sea fleet would be shut up. Where, then, would there be any real scope for effective co-operation? The situation was one quite different from that of France; the speedy despatch of British forces to the continent might, and probably would, make all the difference between success and failure.

It is clear, however, that the Russian Government, which does not seem quite to have appreciated the position, had very far-going plans; and, in particular, as we see from a despatch communicated to Count Benckendorff, the Russian Council of State was considering proposals for the landing of Russian troops in Pomerania, and hoping that the British Government would lend support to this, if not by the presence of a British fleet, at any rate by providing the necessary transports. The whole plan seems to have been singularly ill-devised. Even if the German fleet had been defeated and largely destroyed by the British fleet, a landing on the coast of Pomerania would still have remained an extremely risky and probably futile operation; and clearly it would have been quite out of the question for the British Government to consent to lock up any considerable amount of British shipping in the Baltic for such an object.* The whole of this discussion of a naval agreement seems in fact to have had very little importance, and would really have had none had it not been that incorrect statements appeared in the public press. How these rumours got out is one of the matters on which we should be glad to have further light, but we cannot fail to connect it with the fact to which we have already referred, that the German Government was very well informed as to all

* This proposal plays a large part in current propaganda. It is represented that it had been accepted by England (of which there is no evidence); and we are even told that the British transports were actually at Petrograd before the outbreak of war!

Digitized by Google

that passed between Petrograd and London; and the fullest information seems to have been in the possession of a German paper, the 'Berliner Tageblatt.'

It seems to be supposed by many that there was something sinister and improper in these naval conversations. What justification is there for this? Is it not truer to say that it was the positive duty of the British Government to enter into some such arrangement? The other view can only be taken by those who steadily refuse to recognise the danger to this country from the German naval preparations. At any rate, for the Germans to criticise adversely such an agreement would be the height of hypocrisy. What was the situation? They were building an enormous fleet; and no one who knows anything about the Prussian Government would suppose that they were spending their money on a navy unless they intended to use it. At the same time their Allies, the Austrians, were building a large fleet for use in the Mediterranean; and a new naval agreement had recently been made between Germany and Austria. What did they expect this country to do? Did they anticipate that we should sit silently with folded hands watching with intellectual appreciation and academic admiration the growth of one great fleet in the North Sea and another fleet in the Mediterranean? Did they suppose that the making of a naval agreement—which was kept profoundly secret—was the prerogative and privilege of the Triple Alliance? Was it to be anticipated that this country would not counter the menace, not only by increasing her own fleet, but also by arrangements under which she should depend upon the timely support of the fleets of friendly Powers if the occasion came to use them?

We have said enough to show the interest and importance of these documents; they throw a new and valuable light on the extraordinarily complex problem with which the statesmen of Europe were confronted. The difficulty always was that each country had to prepare itself for the great war which at any moment might break out, while using every effort to avoid it. The fundamental conditions were very unsatisfactory; the complex system of alliances was something quite new

Digitized by Google

in the history of Europe; it was not, as is often so falsely suggested, the old system of the balance of power; for it no single man (except perhaps Bismarck) was responsible. Originally it had arisen from the attempts to avert war; this was the primary cause of each stage in its growth—the German-Austrian Alliance, the Triple Alliance, the Franco-Russian Alliance, the Entente. It was a system which none had willed and none, least of all those who had to use it, liked. Every one would gladly have done away with it; but this was impossible. It was there, and it formed the *terrain* on which each move had to be made. To deal with it made enormous demands on the intellectual and moral powers of those in authority. The remarkable thing is that they managed for so many years to handle the situation without a catastrophe; for this, above all, Sir Edward Grey is responsible, and we always find him, with sure tact, warning men off any hasty or ill-considered action.

To decipher every riddle, to watch and describe every move in the complicated play of forces, would be a fascinating task, but one of extraordinary difficulty. On the other hand, nothing is more futile or more misleading than, as so many do, to seize on an isolated episode, a few words in a single telegram, and to base on this the suggestion that, it may be, Russia or France, or even Germany herself, was deliberately heading for war. This is not the way in which history can be written or judgments formed.

The ultimate judgment on this epoch of European history will probably be that the real injury from this system of alliances was not that it brought about war, but that it made local and partial wars impossible. The result was that problems, instead of being solved, were allowed to accumulate, so that the whole atmosphere became overcharged. Had these alliances not existed, then Russia and Austria would have been able to settle their differences with one another, while the rest of Europe, standing aloof, could at the right moment have intervened either to prevent war or to stop it. And always the great danger came, not so much from the alliances themselves as from the intense rivalry of armaments by which they were accompanied.

We have scarcely touched a fringe of the great mass

Digitized by Google

of valuable material contained in this work. A fuller study would show how great were the difficulties which from time to time arose out of the agreement with Russia, especially with regard to Persia and the Baghdad railway. It is clear also that, throughout, the relations of Russia to Great Britain were very different from those of France. It was essentially a political agreement, and was not accompained by any close feeling of friendship and fellowship between the nations; the strong antagonism felt to the methods of the former Russian Government by many large sections of this country always made real friendship impossible, as Benckendorff again and again explained. As a political agreement, it brought with it certain difficulties and dangers, the nature of which we have indicated. Russian diplomacy in the old days had a bad name; and no one could have been surprised if, when the secret archives were disclosed, much came to light which, had it been known at the time, would have been seriously distasteful to our Government. The disclosures have now been made, and from a source not friendly to the Entente; if we are to judge by them, then the only conclusion we can draw is that those in authority in Russia were on the whole working in a spirit of loyalty both to France and to England. And to those who even now are inclined to criticise adversely the policy before the war, I would address one question. How would it have been if a war had broken out between Germany and England, and in it Russia had been found not on our side, but in alliance with Germany?

J. W. HEADLAM-MORLEY.

Digitized by Google

Art. 12.—THE NAVY AND THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

THE Washington Conference constitutes an attempt to find some relief from the crushing burden of armaments which still weighs upon the world. But the problem must be seen in its correct perspective. Armaments in themselves are not the immediate cause of war, whose origin must be sought in the spirit of rivalry, suspicion, and distrust which plays so large a part in human affairs. But, though armaments may rightly be regarded merely as a form of insurance against war, their growth tends inevitably to foment the suspicion and distrust which gave them birth; and they constitute a secondary sphere of rivalry whose natural outlet for expression is war.

And yet, by the very nature of things, disarmament is impracticable unless the parties affected can come to some reciprocal arrangement. Lord Haldane in 1912 sought diligently for an agreement with Germany, and the Chancellor was ready to listen; but the German admirals 'were difficult,' and no basis for limitation could be found. Tirpitz would not give up his Navy Law.* Proud of Germany and confident in her resources, he believed in the 'day' of his officers' vainglorious toasts, and could not see the real day waiting for them in the Firth of Forth. But in a colossal war fought to the bitter end, victory and defeat become merely relative terms. Victor and vanquished emerge defeated from a war which has shaken Europe to its foundations. The war spells the downfall of Europe's predominance. The old landmarks, material and immaterial, have disappeared. We have spent our wealth; and the one dominant note of our polity—monotonous as the tolling of a bell or the warning blast of a foghorn—must be economy. This must be the focal point of our policy, and it must be constantly emphasised. The question cannot be solved in terms of 'dreadnoughts' alone. Immersed in dreadnought arithmetic, we may forget the tolling of that warning bell, and the dull blast of the

* The Navy Law passed in May 1912, which *inter alia* increased the strength of the battle-fleet from thirty-four to forty-one, and placed three squadrons (instead of two) in active commission.

Digitized by Google

foghorn may fall on deaf ears. We have mortgaged most of our wealth; and economy is an urgent necessity.

With the downfall of Germany the whole conditions of naval strategy have changed. The Two-Power Standard was a corollary of North Sea strategy; it was an answer to Germany's fleet building at our back door, and with the disappearance of Germany's fleet its meaning too has disappeared. The Pacific is 9000 miles from the North Sea,* and its problems are equally far removed. From the point of view of general naval strategy, the circumstances of the North Sea were peculiar. It may be accepted that a navy exercises a predominant degree of control in its own waters where the whole strength and resources of the nation are working close behind it. In the North Sea Britain and Germany's area of maritime control overlapped. Across a comparatively narrow sea, barely 400 miles† broad, two fleets stood opposed, one barring the other's road to the oceans; and behind each there stood, in close proximity, all its maritime resources and all its vast organisation of building and supply. In the Pacific very different conditions prevail; and here it is necessary to make a short digression on the influence of distance on naval strategy.

The maintenance of a fleet in any area involves a vast machinery of auxiliary services. A suitable anchorage must first be selected as a temporary base, easily defended and spacious enough for a large fleet. Repair ships and floating docks must be provided; a stream of oil ships, store ships, and ammunition ships will be moving constantly to and fro; and in the case of serious defects the ships themselves must return under escort to the great building yards. The protection of the base and the security of its approaches will involve the services of scores of mine-sweepers, trawlers, motor launches, and small craft, which can only with great difficulty make a long ocean journey. Now the greater the distance of such a base from the main bases at home, the more difficult becomes the work of maintenance.

---

* Honolulu is approximately this distance *via* the Panama Canal.

† 320 miles from the Humber to the Jade; 440 from the Forth to the Skaw.

Digitized by Google

The fleet approaching an enemy's coast drags behind it a lengthening chain of communications; and it may be accepted that a distance of more than 3000 miles (approximately 8 days at 16 knots) from home would be a severe handicap on the operations of a fleet of any considerable size.

But to operate effectively in enemy's waters a temporary base not more than 600 miles (approximately 38 hours at 16 knots) away from them will be required. Offensive operations by a fleet, therefore, involve the use of a base some 600 miles from the enemy's coast, and if possible not more than 3000 miles from its own. But, when oceans lie between the combatants, these conditions may be impossible to realise; and the fleet that wishes to maintain a force equal to an enemy off that enemy's coast must be prepared to take the sea with a force at least twice and possibly thrice as strong. A United States fleet operating against Japan and working from Guam would be some 5700 miles from its main bases of supply at home, with Japan still some 1350 miles off.

Great Britain, whether she elected to work from Hongkong or Singapore, would be 8000 to 9000 miles from home, a distance which would make it very difficult to maintain a large fleet at a high level of efficiency. In both cases the attacking fleet would be working at a grave disadvantage; and to maintain at the front a fleet superior to the enemy would require a force at least double the enemy's in strength. If, on the other hand, Japan elected to attack, she must face this terrible handicap of oceanic spaces. To attack Great Britain in European waters may be ruled out as impracticable; she could not hope to get further than the Indian Ocean or Australia. In the latter case she would find herself some 3600 miles from her main bases, and would have to mobilise a fleet at least twice as strong as that which the British Empire could assemble in Australian bases. If she advanced towards the American coast she would have to face a journey of 4520 miles.

It will be seen that in working at great distances a much greater proportionate superiority is required in order to maintain an approximately equal force in a distant arena of operations. The necessity for a large margin of strength depends not merely on the distance to

Digitized by Google

be traversed by ships requiring refit, but also on the fact that the safety of the base is largely dependent on that of the fleet. In these circumstances, unless a large margin of superiority is available, a temporary set-back, involving severe damage to half a dozen ships, might jeopardise the safety of the base and of the whole fleet. This is of course a mere truism of naval strategy, but tends to be lost sight of in the conditions prevailing in the late war, where the main fleets were working in close proximity to their great naval bases.

There is another important factor which weighs the balance in favour of the combatant working close to his own coasts, namely, that he can more easily bring up aircraft to support his fleet. It is true that a fleet can come provided with aircraft-carriers; but these vessels must always be huge and vulnerable, and cannot compete with a complete system of air-defence based on aerodomes. The advantage of air-power remains with the combatant fighting in the proximity of his own coasts; and it may be accepted that invasionary operations have become a thing of the past against the coast of a powerful enemy well equipped with aircraft and submarines. In fact, one tends to revert in the Pacific to somewhat the same relations as must have existed between England and Venice in the 16th century, when neither could attack the other because each was too far away. It is probable that Japan could never seriously injure the United States and that the United States could not defeat Japan.

The tendency, then, of naval and air strategy is to increase the ascendency of a fleet in the waters contiguous to its own bases. The difficulty of waging war in an enemy's waters has increased. It follows that there is a tendency for the control of particular maritime areas to fall into the hands of particular Powers, whose ascendency there can be challenged only by a greatly superior force. The United States tends to exercise an indisputable sway in Panama and the Gulf of Mexico; Great Britain guards the North Sea and the sea approaches to Europe; Japan controls the entry to the China seas. The question remains, how far these conditions tend towards the maintenance of peace. Very effectively, for on this basis it is possible to discover a

Digitized by Google

standard of armaments which precludes or hinders the possibility of offensive operations. If the principal Powers can agree to such a standard, then the possibility of war is diminished, for it is in the fear of invasion that its principal menace lies. But here one must emphasise the peculiar conditions of the British Empire. Offensive operations in a naval war must take the form either of invasion or an attack on trade. Great Britain is far more dependent on her trade than any other Power; and the Empire is dependent for its safety on its lines of communication by sea. The United States, as Mr Balfour observed, stand 'impregnable, solid, and self-sufficient'; and a defeat at sea could do them no irretrievable harm. Their great coal and industrial areas lie hundreds of miles inland, practically immune from attack. They are defended by mileage both on land and sea. Great Britain's position is very different. The very existence of the Empire is wrapped up in sea-power; and the safety of the great high-road to India and Australia is indispensable to its security.

But neither peace nor war can be won without a certain element of risk. We have to recognise, too, that a new horizon has risen in naval affairs. For over two centuries we have been the leading naval power, and have acquired the habit of acting as a general providence to the world. We can no longer afford to do so. We must adapt ourselves to different conditions, and the general nature of the proposals put forward by the United States appear to offer us a friendly lead.

In their original form they may be summarised as follows: *

(*a*) No further construction of capital ships † for a period of not less than 10 years.

(*b*) All capital ships under construction by the United States to be scrapped.

These comprise 6 post-Jutland battle-cruisers (the Constellation, Constitution, Lexington, Ranger, Saratoga, United States, all 8 16-inch guns), and 9 post-Jutland battleships (Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Montana, North Carolina, South Dakota, all 12 16-inch, and the

* 'Times,' Nov. 18, 1921.

† That is, the largest type of armoured ships, including both battleships and battle-cruisers.

Digitized by Google

West Virginia, Washington, and Colorado, 8 16-inch)—a total of 15 capital ships with a total of 618,000 tons.

(*c*) All older U.S. battleships up to, but not including, the Delaware and North Dakota to be scrapped, 15 in number with a total of 227,740 tons.

(*d*) Great Britain to stop the construction of the four Hoods * with a total of 172,000 tons.

(*e*) Great Britain also to scrap all older dreadnoughts up to, but not including, the King George V, comprising 19 ships with a total of 411,375 tons.

(*f*) Japan to abandon her building programme of 1920.†

(*g*) Japan to scrap her capital ships under construction, viz. the Mutsu (8 16-inch), Tosa and Kago (10 16-inch) and the battle-cruisers Akagi and Amagi (8 16-inch) building, and to stop the construction of the battle-cruisers Atago and Takao (8 16-inch) about to be laid down, a total of 7 capital ships with a total of 289,100 tons.

(*h*) Japan also to scrap all battleships up to, but not including, the Settsu, viz. 10 ships of 159,828 tons.

The above proposals meant the complete suspension of all building programmes. The total tonnage to be scrapped by the United States was 847,740, by Great Britain 583,375, and by Japan 448,928 tons. This would leave Great Britain with 22 capital ships (604,450 tons), the U.S. with 18 (500,650 tons), and Japan with 10 (299,700 tons), as follows:

Great Britain—Royal Sovereign, Royal Oak, Resolution, Ramillies, Revenge, Queen Elizabeth, Warspite, Valiant, Barham, Malaga (all 8 15-inch).

Benbow, Emperor of India, Iron Duke, Marlborough, Erin, King George, Centurion, Ajax (all 10 13·5-inch).

Hood ‡ (8 15-inch), Renown,‡ Repulse ‡ (6 15-inch), Tiger ‡ (8 13·5-inch).

United States—Maryland (8 16-inch), California, Tennessee, Idaho, Mississippi, New Mexico, Arizona, Pennsylvania (all 12 14-inch), Oklahoma, Nevada, Texas, New York (all 10 14-inch), Arkansas, Wyoming (12 12-inch), Utah, Florida, North Dakota, Delaware (all 10 12-inch).

Japan—Nagato (8 16-inch), Hiuga, Ise, Yamashiro, Fuso (all 12 14-inch), Settsu (12 12-inch), Kirishima,‡ Haruna,‡ Hiyei,‡ Kongo ‡ (all 8 14-inch).

---

* Sanctioned in naval estimates, 1921-22.

† This provided for an establishment of sixteen capital ships to be reached by 1928, including eight battleships and four battle-cruisers.

‡ Battle-cruisers.

Digitized by Google

Japan's anxiety to retain the battleship Mutsu (8 16-inch), now approaching completion, led, however, to a modification of the above. Japan is to retain the Mutsu, and scrap the Settsu. Great Britain is to build two new capital ships, and scrap the King George, Erin, Centurion, and Ajax. The United States is to complete the Washington and Colorado (8 16-inch), and scrap the North Dakota and Delaware. The fleets thus become: for Great Britain 20 ships of 582,020 tons, for the United States 18 ships of 525,850 tons, and for Japan 10 ships of 313,300 tons.

The effect of these proposals with their modifications on the strength of the fleet is shown below.

STRENGTH OF FLEETS IN 1924.

(Figures in brackets are strengths which would be reached under present building programmes. Capital ships with 16-inch or 15-inch guns have been classified as 1st class, with 14-inch or 13·5-inch as 2nd class, with 12-inch as 3rd class. B. = battleship, B.C. = battle-cruiser; 1, 2, 3 = 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class).

	B. 1.	B. 2.	B. 3.	B.C. 1.	B.C. 2.	B.C. 3.
Great Britain	12 (10)	4 (12)	0 (6)	5 (7)	1 (8)	0 (2) = 20
United States	8 (10)	11 (11)	4 (8)	0 (6)	0 (0)	0 (0) = 18
Japan . .	2 (4)	4 (4)	—	0 (2)	4 (4)	0 (0) = 10

STRENGTH IN GUNS IN 1924.

	16 or 15-inch.	14 or 13·5-inch.	12-inch.
Great Britain . .	116 (132)	48 (144)	0 (76) = 164
United States . .	24 (152)	124	44 (80) = 192
Japan . . .	16 (48)	80	— = 96

It will be seen that in terms of numbers the largest sacrifices are made by the United States, who are scrapping thirteen first-class capital ships to Great Britain's two and Japan's six. It would be difficult to maintain that these proposals tend to jeopardise the safety of the Empire; and they may be accepted with equanimity. The drastic proposal to suspend all capital-ship construction for ten years has been modified. It would have redounded to the United States' disadvantage, for at the end of that time a larger proportion of British ships would have become due for replacement under the age-limit clause.

Digitized by Google

The second part of the proposals dealt with the replacement of the above strength and embodied the 5–5–3 formula. They may be summarised as follows:

(*a*) The first replacement of capital ships not to be laid down till 10 years from the date of agreement.
(*b*) The replacement to be limited to 500,000 tons for the U.S., 500,000 tons for Great Britain, and 300,000 tons for Japan.*
(*c*) Subject to the 10 years' limitation, capital ships to be replaced when 20 years old, and keels not to be laid till 17 years have elapsed.
(*d*) No capital ship to exceed 35,000 tons.†

In the light of what has been said on the influence of distance on naval strategy, the formula may be regarded as a defensive one so far as capital ships are concerned. It at least safeguards the coasts of any of the Powers concerned from invasion, thereby removing the principal menace of war.

But Great Britain, on account of her long stretches of sea communication, is more exposed to an attack on her trade than any other Power; and in her case the question of cruisers and submarines as the principal instruments of such attack is a matter of equal if not of greater importance. These are grouped under the head of auxiliary craft, which include (*a*) surface combatants, viz. cruisers, flotilla leaders, and destroyers, (*b*) submarines, (*c*) aeroplane-cruisers. All auxiliary service vessels, such as fuel ships, supply ships, tenders, repair ships, tugs, mine-sweepers are exempt from the agreement. The tonnage of surface craft allowed for cruisers, flotilla leaders, and destroyers is for Great Britain 450,000 tons, the United States 450,000 tons, and Japan 270,000 tons (a formula of 4·5—4·5—2·7); but no immediate obligation is laid on any Power whose total tonnage exceeds this amount on Nov. 11, 1921, to scrap any of its vessels at once. Only when it begins to replace them must the whole be reduced to the prescribed limits; and it is permissible for all such craft laid down by Nov. 11 to be carried to completion. The age-limit for cruisers is seventeen years and for destroyers twelve years.

---

* Increased to 525,000, 525,000, and 315,000 respectively.

† The equivalent United States displacement is 37,000 tons. The Hood is approximately 41,620 tons, the Constellation, 43,500, the Royal, 40,600.

Digitized by Google

Here a very important consideration appears to have been overlooked. In the case of large capital ships which sooner or later must be prepared to face a battle, a formula of relative strength can be found which will preclude offensive operations in the case of widely-separated combatants. This principle also applies to cruisers intended to act as tactical units of a fleet. But in the case of cruiser-raiders and submarines, which rely for their success on evasion, it is not primarily the relative strength but the actual number at work which governs the situation. The answer to ten capital ships is fifteen capital ships, but the answer to thirty submarines and thirty cruiser-raiders is something much more complicated than forty submarines and forty cruisers. It may be 200 destroyers, 100 cruisers, and a host of anti-submarine craft. It can be accepted that twenty light cruisers, if accompanied by a proper quota of fast fuel ships (which are not covered by the agreement), could seriously menace our great trade-routes in the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean. The Karlsruhe was able to maintain herself in the Atlantic for four months in spite of half a dozen British cruisers on her track, and was destroyed, not by them but by an internal explosion. If twenty light cruisers were to be let loose on the trade-routes of the Empire, it would require something much nearer eighty than twenty ships to sweep them up. The above-mentioned tonnage would permit of only about fifty light cruisers and 150 destroyers,* which is certainly not a very great array to meet a vigorous attack on our trade-routes by light cruisers and submarines. It would have been preferable to leave the tonnage of destroyers, which play an important defensive part in the escort and protection of trade, unlimited, and to limit cruisers to a certain definite number or a proportion just sufficient for the work of the fleet, say 50 per cent. of the number of capital ships.

The same argument applies to submarines. Here again a formula of proportionate tonnage does not assist the main end of the Conference, which is clearly trying

* Fifty cruisers at 4000 tons and 150 destroyers at about 1700 tons = 455,000 tons; or the proportion and tonnage might be altered, e.g. to 25 cruisers at 5000 and 160 destroyers at 2000 tons = 445,000 tons.

Digitized by Google

to discover a formula that will reduce naval war to the level of defensive operations. In the case of submarines the following tonnage has been proposed: for Great Britain 90,000 tons, for the U.S. 90,000, for Japan 54,000 tons; and there is again no obligation on any Power possessing a larger tonnage on Nov. 11 to scrap any of it till replacement begins. This tonnage would permit of forty-five submarines of 1000 tons and ten large ocean-going submarines of 4000 tons. Here again the endeavour to reduce naval war to a defensive level is defeated, for a large ocean-going submarine can remain on a trade-route for some months independent of any supplies, and is more dangerous to Great Britain than to any other Power. This is evidently the ground of Great Britain's proposal to abolish submarines altogether. It is not quite clear whether this means a cessation of their construction, or whether Great Britain is aiming at a general prohibition of their use. It may be doubted whether the latter is practicable. The submarine has gained a recognised place in naval warfare, and cannot be regarded as an illegitimate weapon merely because Germany put it to an illegitimate use. Again, it has a distinct field of use in coastal defence; and the imposition of a limit of 600 to 800 tons would have reduced it to the level of defensive armaments.

But this would apply only to Pacific strategy, for in European waters a submarine of 600 tons would operate quite effectively against British trade. To meet this contingency, a limitation in total tonnage was required. Great Britain was unable to persuade the Conference to agree to the abolition of submarines; but the United States met her half-way by proposing to reduce the maximum submarine tonnage to 60,000 tons each for the United States and Great Britain, and to the *status quo* for the other powers.*

France, clinging to an exaggerated estimate of the defensive value of submarines, refused to accept these figures and held out stubbornly for 90,000 tons. In the face of her unyielding attitude, the proposals to restrict submarine tonnage broke down. The French opinion of

* Present submarine tonnage in American figures (British figures in brackets)—United States 95,000 (83,540), Great Britain 82,464 (80,500), France 42,000 (28,360), Japan 32,000 (32,000), Italy 22,000 (18,250).

Digitized by Google

the submarine cannot be accepted. It could not prevent the transport of fifteen millions of men to her aid during the war. It has a sphere of defensive utility in reconnaissance work, and for this purpose the tonnage she possesses will meet all her needs.

It will be seen that, while in capital ships the greatest sacrifices are made by the United States, in cruisers and submarines Great Britain has most at stake, and is asked to make the principal concession. The sacrifice, however, in the case of cruisers is not an immediate one, for Great Britain possesses a great superiority in this type of craft,* which will continue for at least three or four years, as none of them need be scrapped.

Any agreement reached at Washington must closely affect the personnel of the navy; but in the wholesale reduction that is pending we should remember that, the fewer ships we have, the greater is the necessity for careful instruction and training. The greater number of ships scrapped, the greater the necessity for expenditure on the Naval Staff College.

Viewing the proposals from a strictly naval point of view, two grounds of criticism remain: first that cruisers were not limited to a definite number of units, say fifteen, thirty, and ten for the United States, Great Britain, and Japan respectively, with a maximum displacement of 4500 tons; and secondly, that the tonnage of submarines was not restricted to 800 tons. But the whole question has another and bigger aspect. An agreement on naval armaments must give a great impetus to the cause of world-peace. The Conference represents a sincere effort to further that cause; and, though we may risk something of our maritime position, we tend to gain with the whole world in anything that promotes a lasting peace. The work done at Washington is a great step towards this; and it would be unwise to measure by dreadnought strength alone.

ALFRED C. DEWAR.

---

* At present some sixty-nine cruisers to Japan's thirteen and the United States' fifteen (Brassey's 'Naval Annual,' 1921).

Digitized by Google

Art. 18.—OVERSEAS POLITICAL CONFEDERATION.

1. *Commercial Federation.* By J. Davidson. Sonnenschein, 1900.
2. *The West Indies and the Empire.* By H. de R. Walker. Unwin, 1901.
3. *The Empire and the Century.* By C. S. Goldman. Murray, 1905.
4. *The British West Indies, their History, Resources, and Progress.* By A. E. Aspinall. Pitmans, 1912.
5. *The Present Economic Position in the West Indies.* By W. A. Gould. 'Geographical Teacher,' 10. 1920.

And other works.

ONE of the most pronounced—if but little noted—economic movements within the Empire occurring within the past few years has been that towards a political union of Canada and the British West Indies. Since the summer of 1920 there has been in existence a commercial union, formed under the auspices of the Canada-West India Trade Agreement, giving to Canadian goods a tariff preference amounting, in some cases, to as much as 90 per cent., while a preferential tariff became effective on Sept. 1, 1921, by proclamation. But this amount of preferential treatment is deemed, in some quarters, to be insufficient to promise complete unity throughout the Empire. Something stronger, appealing to 'the nurse of manly sentiment,' is needed. The earnest desire has been, and is, for a British West Indian Dominion, brought about through political consolidation of these separate and individual colonies. This view forms a real issue, one which has been in no way promoted by propaganda, but declared out of the depths of what is called 'public opinion.'

While sentiment, no doubt, has played, and plays, a part, there is an undercurrent of solid commercialism which has found modified expression on the lips of some of Canada's distinguished statesmen, not the least of whom have been Sir R. L. Borden, Prime Minister of Canada from 1911 to 1920, and Leader of the Conservative Party since 1901; Sir G. E. Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce in the late (Meighen) Union Government; and Lord Shaughnessy. While the Canadian Government, as such, has not endorsed political federation

Digitized by Google

between the Dominion and the British West Indies, and while the Canadian-West Indian League has not officially considered political federation, Sir E. R. Dawson, on the other hand, has even put forward concrete proposals for such a political federation of the British West Indian Governments—a movement which he considers is destined to pave the way to some thoroughly efficient system of administration and a consolidation of the individual strengths of His Majesty's Overseas possessions. In the mean time, it is interesting to note that Canada has recently made new proposals to the Government of Cuba for the arrangement of an unofficial convention, whereby certain privileges would be granted for stated Canadian products, and reciprocal privileges for Cuban products.

Such a combination is calculated by others, equally prominent in Imperial politics, to provide a further link in the chain of Empire by constituting one great British Dominion in an area where British influence to-day, more than ever, needs to be exerted. Public opinion, as reflected in the Dominion press, would appear to have been deeply and widely stirred in favour of this proposal; the fact that Canada has a strong and growing commercial interest in the West Indies pre-supposes that she possesses also a strong political interest. 'Interest makes all seem reason that leads to it'; and where vested interests are, there exists to a certain extent political influence also. A prominent statesman, defining the attitude of the Dominion, has declared that

'Canada cannot afford to give the West Indian colonies the advantages of free exports and imports to and from her markets, and herself meet the loss of revenue resulting therefrom, if there is only a trade agreement between these countries; neither could she allow the British West Indies to participate in her more favourable reciprocity treaties with the United States and other foreign countries, nor in her increased transportation facilities, unless there be a political union which would also give the Dominion the right to protect the colonies from retaliation and other foreign pressure.'

While advancing this argument, care has been taken to indicate that no coercive pressure is intended. On the contrary, the Dominion insists most scrupulously that the initial proposals on the political side must come

Digitized by Google

from the West Indian Colonies themselves; and that on no account must Canada appear to influence the opinions of the smaller possessions, even to the extent of making the preliminary suggestion.

On the other hand, the movement is strongly supported in the West Indies upon both imperial and economic grounds. In the Caribbean Sea it is recognised that Empire consolidation has become increasingly necessary in view of United States encroachment upon our commercial interests in that part of the world; for during the past quarter of a century the West Indian islands have been drawn more and more into the already extensive sphere of trade influence controlled by our transatlantic rivals. But there is here something more than laudable imperial sentiment, and deeper than any mere spirit of commercialism. Rightly or wrongly the West Indian colonies suffer from a sense of wrong, a grievance which may be said to have existed for half a century at least, and has found public expression at varying periods, but always with increased bitterness. Our overseas brethren complain of neglect at the hands of the mother-country; and, as we know, even a little neglect may breed much mischief. Those who may be personally acquainted with the docile, good-tempered, and kindly-dispositioned West Indian natives, and who may at some period or other have been witnesses of their perfervid loyalty to the Crown—an inherited attitude since the days of their emancipation from plantation slavery—can best appreciate the bitter feeling which has been created in their simple minds by the real or imaginary official apathy shown towards these far-off colonies. It is not difficult for them to believe the mischievous and mendacious statements of agitators and political disturbers of the peace, who tell them that we only took possession of these islands when they appeared to us of supreme importance in our great struggle with Spain and France; and that these possessions, having served our purpose, and being no longer of any great marketable value, should now be allowed to drift away without further thought or consideration.

The well-balanced utterances of the Colonial Secretary, as reported in his speeches delivered in June last at a meeting of the Empire representatives, and again before

Digitized by Google

the members of the West Indian Committee, when the Prince of Wales was entertained at a banquet, will have gone some way to satisfy colonial aspirations; even more so will the Minister's suggested reforms for the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, as outlined in the New Empire Scheme drawn up by the Colonial Office and shortly to be discussed, it is hoped, in Parliament. Above all, the individual examination of Colonial claims rendered possible by the visit to the West Indies of Mr Wood, Under-Secretary—in the unavoidable absence of his Chief, who originally hoped to undertake this mission personally—should lead to wide-spread advantages to the Empire as a whole. Petitions and memorials for reform or relief have been pouring into the Colonial Office for years past, but of late they have increased amazingly; and officials have become alarmed at the magnitude of the unrest and dissatisfaction prevalent in our Caribbean possessions. The demands of the West Indian colonies range over a wide variety of subjects—from a permanent preference agreement with Great Britain in the near future, financial assistance to tide over current difficulties immediately (solicited by Jamaica), and the complete control of their own public funds and a voice in the government (asked by the Windward Islanders), to the introduction of an entirely new West Indian currency (as proposed by British Guiana) and a greater display of practical interest in the economic affairs of these outposts of Empire demanded by all alike. If Mr Wood can spare time to examine even a tithe of the proposals submitted—some clear and conceivable, others, it is to be feared, immature and unsubstantial expedients—he will be well employed.

What would tend yet more completely to assure the West Indies of our continued interest in their affairs, economic and political, would be the ready consecration of some of our abundant capital to the development of their rich natural possessions, and some practical participation in order to promote their advance along the road of commercial prosperity; just as the United States have assisted their but recently-acquired colonies, the Philippines, Porto Rico, Guam, the Hawaiian Islands, and St Thomas (formerly Danish West Indies), as well as the contiguous South and Central Americas and Mexico.

Digitized by Google

Indeed, it is suggested that any confederation that may be formed must result in an arrangement between the British West Indies and Canada to divert to the latter some of the huge investments of Canadian money now placed in Mexico, Cuba, South America, and other non-British countries. In the month of February 1922, Canadian influence will make itself still further felt by the commencement of a Canadian Pacific Railway steamship-service between the Dominion and Jamaica.

Among other shocks sustained by the West Indian colonies was the sudden and wholly unexpected action of Mr Asquith's Government in August 1912, notifying the withdrawal of Great Britain from the Brussels Sugar Convention. The planters of Jamaica and Barbados, among others, were little prepared for the blow, notwithstanding the fact that some, who perhaps had followed more carefully than others the course of events since the Convention of 1902, may have realised that the agreement, when renewed in 1907, was for the limited period of five years only. Although the action of the British Government was regarded with great disfavour, the effects on the West Indies proved less serious than had been anticipated, since the market for West Indian sugar had extended to, and seemed likely to become more profitable in, the United States; while under the new system of Canadian preference, exports to Canada were greatly stimulated. However injurious, therefore, the British Government's action might have proved to West Indian prospects in the home-market, it lost much of its terror for the colonial sugar-producers who had come to look more and more to the American and Canadian markets as their safeguard. But a bad impression was not unnaturally created by the conviction that the economic prosperity of the British West Indian colonies was being made dependent upon Canada and the United States, while the mother-country stood aside.

Serious attention was given in some quarters to the proposal emanating from Mr McAdoo, former Secretary of the United States Treasury, made in March 1920, to the effect that Jamaica and other of the West Indian Islands 'might well be disposed of to the United States, in satisfaction of British financial indebtedness to that

Digitized by Google

country.' Mr McAdoo seems to have derived his inspiration from the supposition that the British Empire, which now comprises one-sixth of the land area of the whole world, would find it necessary from an economic point of view to devote its surplus capital for many years to come to the development of the agricultural and mineral resources of its great self-governing Dominions and India. 'I imagine,' added Mr McAdoo, 'that Great Britain would not object to such a disposition of these islands, especially as they would go to a friendly Power; but I see nothing in such a proposal to offend the just pride of a great people, whereas such liquidation of a portion of the British debt might be a happy solution of part of Great Britain's immediate financial problem.'

Nor will it be forgotten that in a recent interview, speaking of the United States policy towards the League of Nations, an American Senator (Mr McCormick) declared that 'America has not the same interest as, say, France or Britain in the Mediterranean or the Balkans, whereas she has an overwhelming interest in the Caribbean, and assumes responsibility there to the exclusion of France and Britain.' The friendly feelings existing for the United States upon this side should not prevent us from paying some attention to a statement of this kind, even if it be but a *brutum fulmen;* and, doubtless, but for the more pressing problems which have engaged our attention in these later days, such a pronouncement upon the part of an American Senator would not have been allowed to pass without attention. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that it was not a member of the United States Government who gave out this statement for publication, but one whose opinions may not rank as of any greater importance than certain other political utterances made in this country.

It was supposed that the prosecution of a plan for the purchase of some of Great Britain's territorial possessions, including the Islands of the West Indies, would form the first task to which the new Secretary of State, Mr Colby, would devote himself when he entered on the duties of his office; but this supposition has proved hollow. The suggestion of selling the British West Indies to the United States was not, however, as some have imagined, American in its origin, but British. The

Digitized by Google

proposal was first put forward by Lord Rothermere, and, at the time, met with neither repudiation nor encouragement from any member of the British Government. On the other hand, a certain number of American voices, always hostile to Great Britain, were raised in its favour; but, again, without drawing any expression of opinion from either Government. It may be that neither Administration regarded the suggestion as calling for attention or contradiction.

Those who advocate the annexation of the West Indies to the United States have been active in pointing out the advantages that would accrue from a dissolution of the tie between the colonies and the mother-country and their annexation to the United States, to which continent, it is claimed, they geographically belong. Now, what would America offer to those who joined her which the United Kingdom refuses to give, or has neglected to give? Is it that Great Britain does not take her colonies into partnership at all? or is it that while, in the United States, the blood circulates freely from the heart to the extremities, so that if one member suffers all the members suffer with it, our colonies are simply regarded as what they used to be called—'plantations,' offshoots from the old stock set down as circumstances have dictated in various parts of the globe, vitally detached and left to grow or wither according to their own inherent strength? It has been declared that the whites in the West Indies would, if consulted, almost unanimously desire to be taken into the American Union, but that the blacks to a man would oppose it. Upon a free vote, therefore, it is clear that with the present-day population of Jamaica alone, numbering 630,181 blacks, to say nothing of 163,201 other coloured people, pitted against a white population of no more than 15,605, any proposal for separation would be lost.

Undoubtedly a stir was created when, some years ago, it was rumoured that the English troops were to be withdrawn from the islands of Jamaica, Trinidad, and the Antilles, and that the colonists were to be left masters of their destiny, free to form themselves into communities like those of the Latin American Republics, or to join with the United States. The more nervous among the white population at once recalled what had happened in

Digitized by Google

the neighbouring island of Haiti and Santo Domingo. In Haiti, the greater part of the French inhabitants had been massacred and the remainder deprived of their properties; while in Santo Domingo revolutions were almost daily occurrences before the intervention of the United States and their institution of a broad militarily controlled protectorate over that country. As a whole, the British West Indies have shown little readiness to adopt the policy of separation in any form.

While the subject of federating the British West Indies, together with British Guiana and British Honduras, has frequently been mooted, no practical scheme has yet been brought forward for adoption; in every discussion, however, which has taken place touching the possibilities of an organised colonial federation, a free parliamentary constitution has been regarded as a necessary preliminary. Considerable progress has been made during the past decade in the direction of securing greater uniformity in all matters concerning these colonies, while the question of closer trade with Canada has materially assisted to bring together the various units. The preference of 37½ per cent. on British sugar, accorded some ten years ago by the Dominion, largely attracted West Indian produce to the Canadian market; but the value of the preference was reduced by the privilege given to the best refiners of Canada for three years, from 1909, of importing at the British preferential rates two tons of sugar for every ton of Canadian beet refined, and by the further privilege extended to Canadian refiners generally in the same year of importing foreign sugar to the amount of 20 per cent. of their requirements on the terms of the British preference, as a reply to an alleged combination of West Indian producers to raise prices.

The number of those who favour a stronger and wider commercial union between the Dominion and the West Indies, to be secured by means of an enlarged preference, grows in number and influence daily. It is considered in some of the islands that the agreement concluded in 1913 between Canada and the West Indies, by which preference was given to each other's goods, is not sufficiently comprehensive in its scope; this opinion, however, is not generally shared in Jamaica, notwithstanding the

Digitized by Google

isolated position which she occupies. In May 1920 the Legislature of that island negatived the proposal for an altered tariff having for its object a reduction of the existing *ad valorem* duty to one-half, in respect of all empire-made cotton and woollen goods. The chief difficulty seems to have been the anticipated loss to general revenue brought about by the reduction of the duty; and an important question yet to be decided is whether this loss can be best met by imposing new duties or altering existing ones. Another problem is how the policy of Imperial preference can be applied in respect of articles on the free-list and of goods subject to special duties. The last practical suggestion put forward was that a preference of 40 per cent. of the existing duties should be given to pure-cotton piece-goods made in the United Kingdom; this proposal, if adopted, would mean a duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem* instead of 16⅔ per cent. It was further recommended that additional preference should be given to pure-cotton piece-goods made in the United Kingdom entirely of cotton grown in the Empire, and that the duty on such goods should be 8⅓ per cent. *ad valorem*—thus giving a preference of 50 per cent. The Committee of the Legislative Council of Jamaica, while putting forward this proposition, recorded its opinion that, in view of rising values, there existed no necessity to recommend an increase in any other direction on the tariff, to compensate for the reduction proposed.

If all cotton piece-goods made in the United Kingdom and shipped to Jamaica received a preference of 40 per cent., the net loss to the island's revenue would amount to about 8,500*l.*; if all the cotton goods made in the United Kingdom were of raw material grown in the Empire, and, in consequence, received the preference of 50 per cent., the revenue would lose more than 10,600*l.*, which large sum would be supplemented by the unknown amount lost by reason of any transference of the trade to the United Kingdom on account of the preference. Should the whole of such trade be so transferred and goods be allowed to enter under the category of 'goods made in the United Kingdom, but not made of British Empire cotton,' the granting of this preference of 40 per cent. and the payment of duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*

Digitized by Google

would involve a loss amounting to 55,000*l.*, subject, however, to some small reduction dependent upon current prices and rates of exchange.

So far as the benefits attaching to preference accorded to the mother-country are in question, it has to be remembered that the adoption, in 1897, of Canadian preference on British goods was followed by a substantial and continuous increase in Canadian purchases of British manufactures; and the same upward tendency in normal times has been noted in other colonial markets where preference is granted. But in the absence of an enlarged and mutual preference which the West Indian colonies, *inter alia*, demand, the British share of their markets compares unfavourably with that of the United States as regards dutiable and free goods. Failing the adoption of a wider and more comprehensive policy of mutual preference between the United Kingdom and the colonies on the one hand, and between the colonies themselves on the other, our West Indian possessions must remain under constant pressure to enter into reciprocal arrangements with our transatlantic rivals, to our own serious economic detriment. even if it does not undermine the political unity of the Empire.

At this time, when men's minds are turned anxiously to matters overseas, the frequent placing of valuable colonial trade orders in the United States instead of in the United Kingdom has not unnaturally attracted unfavourable comment. For several years past, a large proportion of West Indian engineering and other contracts has gone to the United States or to Canada, for reasons other than purely geographical; the greater portion of rolling-stock and building materials employed on the Jamaican railways has been placed with firms in the United States. A recent contract of considerable value would have followed in the same direction but for the intervention of the Crown Agents, who ruled that a proportion at least of the order should go to the Dominion. The first contract to be so placed, however, was in 1920; in September of the following year a consignment, consisting of seven locomotives, wheels and frames for about 38 cars, bridge work, and about 5,000 tons of steel rails, was received at Kingston (Jamaica) from Canada. No portion of that island's

Digitized by Google

rolling-stock requirements seems to have been allotted to the United Kingdom. It is to be hoped that no similar policy will be pursued in connexion with other public undertakings contemplated, which will embrace in due time the construction of a first-class port at Kingston (involving an estimated expenditure of nearly 500,000*l.*), an extension of the sewerage system at Kingston (to cost 202,000*l.*), the electrification of the island's railway system (now postponed), and the construction of a large sugar central, which, with other installations, such as tramways, will involve a further outlay of 400,000*l.* In connexion with all these enterprises and with others, such as the enlargement of several existing factories, the United Kingdom should be fully capable of supplying what is required, and of carrying out the contracts in a manner equal to that which could be provided by engineers of any other country.

It is true that Kingston is not much more than 800 miles distant from the coast of the United States, while it is distant some 4,026 miles from the nearest port (Liverpool) in the United Kingdom. Given efficient and moderately-rated steamship transport, however, the United Kingdom could successfully compete, and could supply the West Indian colonies with practically all their economic wants at prices equal to those quoted by American manufacturers, even if delivery of the goods were, by reason of the greater distance, less speedy. Patriotic considerations, however, seem to have entered very little into the question. Whereas in recent years the United Kingdom supplied Jamaica with but 4·1 per cent. of the food, drink, and narcotics, the United States supplied 65·3 per cent. and Canada 20·8 per cent. In raw materials, the United Kingdom supplied 7·1 per cent., the United States 91·1 per cent., and Canada 1·4 per cent. Of manufactured articles taken by the colony the United Kingdom supplied 28·1 per cent., the United States 64·6 per cent., and Canada 1·9 per cent. On the other hand, exports from Canada of Canadian-made goods to the West Indies (comprising Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and other British West Indian islands) increased from $3,000,000 (600,000*l.*) in 1910, to $11,000,000 (2,200,000*l.*) in 1920; while imports into Canada from the

Digitized by Google

West Indies increased from $6,000,000 (1,200,000*l.*) in 1910, to $13,000,000 (2,600,000*l.*) in 1920.

How greatly trading figures have altered within a single decade may be gauged from the fact that, whereas in 1908 the United Kingdom supplied 41·5 per cent. of the colonies' imports, in 1918 the proportion had dwindled to 16·1 per cent.; and that, whereas United States figures already stood at 46·8 per cent. in 1908, ten years later they had increased to 67·6 per cent., Canada's share rising only from 7·1 per cent. to 9·6 per cent. Something in this shrinkage of United Kingdom importations must be attributed to scarcity of commodities and the increased cost in foreign markets. The case of imported flour, which forms the colony's principal import, may be cited as an instance. While average pre-war years showed an importation of 277,308 barrels, valued at 296,976*l.*, an importation of a less quantity, namely, 154,471 barrels, in 1918, represented a value of 455,690*l.* In regard to exports from Jamaica, in 1917, the United Kingdom took 44·8 per cent. valued at 1,112,116*l.*, and in 1918 50·2 per cent., valued at 1,347,998*l.* For those two years the United States took 28·1 per cent., valued at 694,762*l.*, and 23·4 per cent., valued at 627,950*l.*; Canada took 15·1 per cent., valued at 375,042*l.*, and 14·3 per cent., valued at $384,396 respectively.

Those who are acquainted with the needs of the West Indian colonies, and especially with those of Jamaica, feel convinced that imports derived from the United Kingdom could be very largely increased, while exports of native produce are also capable of expansion. In the first category British cotton goods, clothing, and boots, which are now almost superseded by similar manufactures from the United States, could be sold in Jamaica and other of the West Indian islands at prices certainly equal to, if not lower than, those of the United States. Building materials, hardware, and ironmongery, as well as machinery and engineering supplies, could be similarly dealt with. It would, however, be useless to expect any improvement of this kind until steamship service between the United Kingdom and Jamaica is rendered more frequent and rapid. Until such innovation has been introduced, the bulk of the islands' merchandise must continue to be derived from the United States.

Digitized by Google

The Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, which in normal times has seldom maintained more than a fortnightly service to the islands, should be increased to a regular weekly service so as to compete with the frequent service of boats, weekly, fortnightly, and monthly, plying between New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans and the West Indian islands. In the absence of a substantial subsidy, however, no British company could be expected to conduct a regular inter-colonial steamship service in the Caribbean in view of the heavy financial losses incurred by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co.—originally formed to carry on a mail-service with the British West Indies, and so conducted for over three-quarters of a century—at an annual loss, for the last twenty years of that period, of about 50,000*l.** The difficulties of the situation are not likely to be lessened by the somewhat captious criticism passed in the United States upon the proposal to exempt from tonnage and light dues British vessels passing through the Panama Canal *en route* to Kingston (Jamaica) and regular boats for Australia and New Zealand. The objections raised, attended by threats of 'retaliation,' appear the more unreasonable when it is remembered that the United States Senate has recently passed a bill re-enacting the Panama Canal tolls and instituting discriminatory rates in favour of American shipping.

Against but three British lines (the Royal Mail Steam Packet, Leyland & Harrison, and Elders & Fyffe's) now calling more or less regularly at Jamaica, there are some eight or nine lines plying between the United States and that island. These include the fine vessels of the Ward Line, the Houston Steamship Company, Pickford & Black, the United Fruit Company, the Atlantic

* The Secretary of State for the Colonies has recently informed the Governments of each of the West Indian colonies that was served by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company that the Imperial Government is prepared to guarantee at the rate of 90,000*l.* per annum a tri-weekly service to be performed by an intermediate class of vessels serving Barbados, Trinidad, and British Guiana, all of which will be expected to contribute in the form of a guarantee to the expenditure on the undertaking, in the following proportions: Trinidad, 17,000*l.* per annum; British Guiana and Barbados, 8000*l.* and 7000*l.* respectively. The R.M.S.P. Company has offered to provide a provisional service on the basis of a guarantee against loss, such guarantee not to exceed 7000*l.* for each round voyage.

Digitized by Google

Fruit Company, the United Steamship Company, and others, while additional cargo services are being continually provided. There exists no British cargo service from the west coast of England to the West Indies, the period for which the joint Imperial and Jamaica Government subsidy was granted having long expired.

The question of establishing a subsidised line of steamers between Jamaica and the United Kingdom has frequently come before the colonial legislature, but remains undecided. Whereas it formerly took but 14 or 15 days for mail matter to reach the island from the United Kingdom by direct route, it now occupies fully four weeks *via* New York. Steamship services between the West Indies and Canada are more or less involved in the question of a better steamship communication between the United Kingdom and the West Indian Colonies; and the matter formed the subject of discussion at the Conference held at Ottawa in June 1920. It was then recommended that subsidised steamers should go to the West Indies from England, calling at Barbados, Trinidad, and British Guiana, and proceeding thence to Canada; from the Dominion the vessels would return to the Caribbean, taking on cargoes for England at British Guiana, and complete their loading at Trinidad and Barbados. This plan, however, was opposed by the Jamaica Imperial Association (included in the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the West Indies), the agreement, in view of the seclusion in which Jamaica would be left, not being considered satisfactory. Alternatively, it was proposed that some arrangement should be made to establish communication between Jamaica and at least one of the other West Indian islands, so as to facilitate connexion with other parts of the West Indies.

At the same time it is the desire of the Associated Chambers of Commerce to complete a trade agreement with the United Kingdom and the Canada-West Indies upon a similar basis. Jamaica is in favour of a trade agreement for a period of ten years, such agreement being on broader lines than the system of imperial preference which has followed in the wake of the agreement with Canada. At the end of the decade period, the agreement could be made permanent, thus securing

Digitized by Google

stability of trade between the mother-country and the colonies in this quarter of the world.

While Jamaica differs little from the other West Indian colonies in regard to the subject of closer economic federation, it approaches with greater timidity the problem of a political union with Canada. At a meeting which took place in Kingston in August 1921, an elected member of the Legislative Council of Jamaica moved:

'That the Legislative Council expresses its desire to know the views of the other British West Indian possessions and the Dominion of Canada on the important question of federation on an imperial basis of all the British possessions in the Western Hemisphere, and respectfully requests the Governor of the Colony to obtain such views for the information of this Council.'

Divergent opinions were expressed, but no conclusive definition of the term 'federation' seems to have been put forward. It is clear, as was pointed out by the Colonial Secretary (Lieut-Col. the Hon. H. Bryan), that the only direct way of entering into negotiations, having for their object a political as well as an economic union with Canada, would be through the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It should be possible to discern in Mr Churchill's hearty public assurances the vista of a new era for our Colonies, when once the scheme, now being evolved, has been put into practice.

PERCY F. MARTIN.

Digitized by Google

Art. 14.—IRELAND.*

IRISH affairs have engaged a large share of public attention during the past six months; and during that period the problems of Irish politics have been more diligently pondered by British statesmen than they have been for twenty years. It is not too much to say that the preoccupations of the Great War, and subsequently the international anxieties which followed upon the attempts to give effect to the Peace of Versailles, have prevented our responsible Ministers from giving that attention to the disturbed condition of Ireland which was necessary for a true understanding of its causes, or for a consecutive and consistent policy of relief. Successive measures for 'the better Government of Ireland' were enacted by Parliament in 1914 and 1920; but in neither case did our legislators pay sufficient heed to the warnings which they received that these measures would prove to be inoperative. They did not know, or they would not believe, that the Sinn Fein organisation was becoming daily more powerful and effective; nor did they appreciate the intensity of the national sentiment which was hostile to any permanent partition of Ireland. And, accordingly, the ferocity and the success of the guerilla warfare waged in Ireland during last winter against the forces of the Crown were disconcerting to the too sanguine Ministers who thought that it could be crushed by the feeble and half-hearted military policy for which they made themselves responsible.

No one in Great Britain doubts that the British Army is equal to much larger tasks than the subjugation of Ireland; and it is unnecessary to labour the point. At any time we could have put down sedition, if we had chosen to put forth our strength and to treat Ireland as an enemy country. But the position last July was such that Ministers began tardily to see the difficulties in the way of succeeding by a policy of coercion. To begin with, it was plain that great military forces—far larger than any that had yet been landed in Ireland—would be necessary. It would be necessary to seize all railways and all post-offices, to provide soldiers to

* This article continues one by the same author, published in the 'Q. R.' for July 1921.

Digitized by Google

perform railway and postal duties, to guard bridges and lines of communication over extensive tracts of country, to surround hostile areas so that enemy forces could not break through, and to have in readiness at many points flying columns which could strike swiftly and surely when occasion offered. We learnt in South Africa that a comparatively small number of determined men, operating in their own country, can only be subdued by forces vastly superior in number and in equipment; and an Irish campaign under the conditions of last year, if it were to be completely successful, would have required at least 250,000 trained soldiers—horse, foot, and artillery. We could have raised such an army, if we had decided to do so; but very few people in Great Britain had realised that anything of the kind would be needed. That was the first difficulty in the way of the Cabinet. They had not got the necessary troops to subdue Ireland by force; and it would have been no easy matter to persuade the British public that they must forthwith undertake the burden of a new and costly war.

But this was not all. There are, perhaps, no people in Europe so sentimental as the English. We are governed by sentimental, much more than by logical, considerations; which, it may be said parenthetically, is one of the reasons why the logical French mind finds it so hard to believe in our sincerity. And, while the French nation would have no scruple in subduing by force of arms a rebellious province or in punishing with severity persons who avow themselves disloyal to the State, the English nation is very reluctant to treat treason as a crime. One of the most curious by-products of the reign of terror in Ireland last winter and spring was the comparative indifference, on the part of Englishmen, to the maltreatment and murder of loyalists, while any excess of zeal or act of indiscipline on the part of the police was made the subject of public and violent protest. Many of our people were quite ready to condone the murders committed by the gunmen, accepting the plea that they were acts of warfare, while any attempt on the part of our troops to behave as though we really were at war was regarded with the utmost disfavour. It was quite certain last July that, if the Cabinet had decided to declare war and to enter upon a definite campaign in

Digitized by Google

the South of Ireland, public opinion would not have suffered them to pursue such a policy to its legitimate conclusion. The politicians would have been so harassed by irresponsible critics that they would not have allowed the soldiers to do their business without interference. Those who blame Mr Lloyd George for entering into conference with the delegates of Sinn Fein, too often forget that the country would not have supported him last summer had he asked for an army and a free hand to put down Sinn Fein by force.

And there is a third consideration. It is significant that those members of Parliament who have clamoured most loudly for the application of a policy of force to rebel Cork or rebel Dublin, live in England or in Ulster. There were 350,000 Unionists living in Southern Ireland last year. Had a state of war been declared, it would have been impossible for British troops to have discriminated between loyalist and Sinn Feiner while military operations were being carried on. The occupation of a country by a hostile military force means the devastation, and the ruin, of the inhabitants of that country. And Irish loyalists knew this very well. They believed, from past experience, that Britain would never carry through a war of reconquest to the end; and they were certain that war in the South and West of Ireland would mean ruin to them, swift and certain, for the Sinn Feiners would treat them as sympathising with the great enemy, Britain, and the British troops would not be able to distinguish them from their neighbours.

The wild words spoken in Parliament by some of those who prefer war to peace, in present Irish conditions, and who declare that conference with rebels is a cowardly surrender, are spoken in a place of security. Such utterances remind one of the old story of the Irish absentee landlord who wrote to his tenants from London to say that, if they thought they could intimidate *him*, by shooting his agent, they were greatly mistaken. It is very easy to be brave at the expense of other people. And the magnitude of the danger to which Southern loyalists were exposed all through last year may perhaps be estimated by the cry of relief with which they hailed the announcement that terms of peace had at last been

Digitized by Google

signed. If the British Government had declared war last July, as many people thought they ought to do, they would have sacrificed all the loyalists in Munster and Connaught, not to speak of a large part of Leinster.

So much may be said, and ought to be said, in support of the decision reached by the Cabinet to abandon the half-hearted policy of a pretence of war in order to compel the Irish to accept an Act of Parliament which nobody desired. It was plain last summer that Sir Hamar Greenwood's optimistic assurances in the House of Commons were not based on good information; and it was by no means certain that military operations were being carried on with intelligence or with success. The Cabinet had been left by former Governments the *damnosa hereditas* of a policy of half-measures, of alternate sentimentality and bluff; and they were not exclusively, or chiefly, to blame for the situation in which they found themselves. The most fatal decision in recent Irish history was Mr Asquith's decision to withdraw Sir John Maxwell from Ireland in June 1916, just when that able general had succeeded in convincing Irishmen that a policy of rebellion was hopeless. Ever since that time, Irishmen, on both sides, have believed that England would never 'see the thing through'; and Irish sedition has flourished exceedingly in the strength of that belief. It was not easy, for the reasons we have given, for Mr Lloyd George to put forth the full power of England, and to demonstrate that Ireland was foolish indeed to challenge her to the test of arms. But it was unfortunate that his decision to treat with representatives of Sinn Fein was announced at a time when Sinn Fein believed itself to have been successful in the guerilla warfare which had been sustained for some months.

Irishmen will not believe it for years to come, but it is none the less true that the initiation of conferences with Sinn Fein last July was a great act of magnanimity on the part of Great Britain. It was an acknowledgment, indeed, that the 'Black and Tan' policy was a mistake, because it was not thorough enough; but it was at least as much the expression of a genuine desire on the part of England to prevent further bloodshed, and to check the destruction of Irish property by Irishmen

Digitized by Google

themselves, which was a daily feature of the newspaper reports. And nothing could have so fully demonstrated to the world the sincerity of the Prime Minister's wish to be fair, even generous, to Ireland than this expression of good will at a moment of passionate strife and clamorous agitation.

It was well known in Ireland in July that not all those who had declared themselves as Republicans desired a Republic in their hearts; and it was believed by many who had access to the inner counsels of Sinn Fein, that a majority of Dail Eireann would accept a large measure of Home Rule within the Empire, and had no objection at all to the sovereignty of the King. Accordingly, private conversations—only private in the sense that they were not officially recognised—between the leaders of the Southern loyalists and the leaders of Sinn Fein were held at the beginning of July; and as a result of these *pourparlers*, Mr Lloyd George made proposals for an Irish settlement on July 20, having previously had an interview with Mr de Valera. A 'truce' had been proclaimed between British troops and the 'Irish Republican Army,' which was hailed with the deepest satisfaction by all men of good will. But the correspondence that ensued was tedious, and did not lead to any practical result for some months, Mr de Valera urging the sovereign independence of Ireland and claiming that he and his faction represented an Irish Republic, while Mr Lloyd George, of course, pointed out the impossibility of yielding to any such claims.

Here, perhaps, it is worth while to say something about the antecedents of the Irish leaders. Mr de Valera is a Spanish-American, not yet 40 years of age, whose father, Vivian de Valera, was an actor in New York. His mother was an Irishwoman by descent; and he was brought up in Ireland, being educated at Roman Catholic institutions and obtaining his degree of B.A. at the Royal University of Ireland. He had thoughts of an academic career, and entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1905, in order to present himself at the examination for a Mathematical Scholarship. But his failure was so complete that immediately after the scholarship examination he abandoned the idea of distinguishing himself

Digitized by Google

in the world of learning, and turned to Irish politics, supporting himself in a small way as a teacher of mathematics. He took a prominent part in the unhappy and fatuous Irish rebellion of 1916, and was sentenced to death by court martial. But he was reprieved and, in accordance with the mistaken sentimentality of the British Government of the day, he was set free. Arrested again for sedition in 1918, he escaped from prison in 1919. Since then he has been the principal figure in Irish revolutionary movements, and was elected 'President' of the self-constituted Irish Republic. A dreamer, and a disappointed fanatic, with an aptitude for burning and wild speech, it was soon recognised by his colleagues of the Irish 'Republican Government' that he was a man of very little capacity for affairs. But he was a figure-head who suited them, for had he not been sentenced to death by Britain? And so it came to pass that this man of mixed race, neither Spaniard nor American nor Irishman, was accepted by three millions of a people not wholly destitute of humour as their chosen leader.

Mr Arthur Griffith is a man of a very different type. The son of an Irish compositor, he was at one time printer's reader for a Dublin newspaper. The ablest of all the Sinn Fein leaders, he has the reputation of being a man whose word can be trusted, and whose capacity for statesmanship is recognised by his associates. Silent and shrewd, he is weighty in counsel, though he has none of the gifts of eloquent speech which fascinate Irish crowds. Mr Michael Collins was a post-office clerk in London at the beginning of the war; he engaged in the Rebellion of 1916, and was released after a short term of imprisonment. He is regarded as the 'Commander-in-Chief' of the Irish Republican Army, and in that capacity must be held responsible for the many lives that were lost during the troubles of last winter. He is not much over 30 years of age, and is said to have impressed the British Ministers who conferred with him as entirely sincere. An Englishman, Mr E. Childers, who acted as a Secretary to the delegation, is quite irreconcileable, hating Great Britain with all the bitterness of a renegade. Of the Irish delegates who met the Prime Minister and his colleagues at Downing Street, Mr Griffith and Mr Collins were, undoubtedly, the ablest,

Digitized by Google

and the most anxious to reach a 'settlement' with Great Britain. With their companions they were appointed by Mr de Valera 'as envoys plenipotentiary from the elected Government of the Republic of Ireland to negotiate and conclude on behalf of Ireland' with the representatives of His Majesty a treaty of settlement. The terms of their commission are important, in view of the sequel.

As we have said, the conferences were productive of no definite result (except that during the negotiations British Ministers learnt something of the Irish temper, and presumably that Irishmen began to understand that England was quite sincere in her overtures of compromise), until Oct. 20, when Mr de Valera sent to the Pope a telegram, which stated in offensive terms that Ireland owed no allegiance to the King, and that it was an 'independent' country. This brought matters to a head; and the Irish delegates were speedily informed that the Peace Conference could not proceed on any such assumption. General Smuts had warned de Valera in August that an Irish Republic was an impossible dream, and that Ireland would be well advised to accept the status, in some form, of a Dominion; but it became apparent that de Valera was not to be persuaded. His 'plenipotentiaries,' however, had grasped the facts of the situation, and after some demur expressed themselves as willing to accept a generous offer of Dominion Home Rule, provided that All Ireland were included, and that Ulster took her place in an Irish Parliament. It would appear from the speech made by the Minister of War (Sir L. Worthington Evans) at the Liverpool Conference of Unionists on Nov. 17, that the Irish delegates had been already told that Britain would require a declaration of loyalty to the King, and that Ireland must accept inclusion in the British Empire and submit to British control of Irish harbours. This, then, was the position by the middle of November: the Irish delegates, acting as plenipotentiaries, were treating with the British Cabinet on the terms indicated, and the next move was with Ulster.

Before we proceed further with this tangled story, it has to be said that the 'truce' which had been accepted by both sides in July was being very imperfectly

Digitized by Google

observed by the Irish Republican Army throughout the autumn. It is true that murders had ceased; but Irish loyalists were being subjected to intimidation of the gravest kind, and the Sinn Fein organisation was asserting itself as the controlling power in Ireland with greater emphasis as each day passed. Formal demands for money for Republican purposes were presented to loyalists, rich and poor, clergymen and laymen alike, in many parts of Ireland, of which the following public notice, issued in September, may serve as a specimen:

'You are hereby notified that a levy of one shilling in the pound has been fixed by the competent authorities for collection in —— Brigade Area for the maintenance and upkeep of the I.R.A. As your valuation is £ ——, the amount payable by you is £ ——.

To —— O/C. —— Brigade.'

In many, perhaps in most, instances, loyalist folk refused to pay these sums; but, when they refused, their names were always registered 'by order.' This amounted to intimidation of the gravest kind. Many houses were raided for money or for food or drink during the period of the so-called truce. Republican soldiers were billeted on private houses, and food and lodging obtained by force of arms. There were few murders, for there was no resistance, as there was no military activity on the side of the Government. Even the police were withdrawn from village after village, so that small country places were left exposed to robbery and petty crime. From July to December the British Government gave no protection to loyalists in large tracts of country; and the only function which their agents discharged with efficiency was the collection of income tax. A 'truce' was much to be desired; and, in so far as it prevented the shedding of blood, it was indeed a good thing. But at the end of five months the Sinn Fein army was more powerful than it had been at the beginning; the loyalists lost hope, the rebels became more confident; and Ulster became more determined than ever to have nothing to do with the majority in the South of Ireland.

This was the moment at which the Cabinet made fresh overtures to Ulster, with the aim of inducing her

Digitized by Google

to abandon her recently acquired powers of Home Rule, and to come into an All-Ireland Parliament; and it is necessary to understand the reasons which Ulster had for suspicion, before her decision can be fairly judged. The 'truce' had not been kept as men of honour would have kept it; and Ulster held that this proved that the Sinn Fein leaders, whom they were asked to trust, had been either careless of their honourable obligations or else unable to control the forces of violence which they had called into being. The latter alternative was probably the true one, but this did not encourage Ulster to agree to one Parliament for Ireland.

The correspondence between Sir James Craig and the Prime Minister in November and December has been published, so that Ulster's case has been presented to the world by her chosen leader. It came to this. She had always desired that the Union should be maintained. Failing that, she had accepted Home Rule for the north-eastern area of Ireland. Her Parliament had been set up. What she had she intended to hold. She would have nothing to do, at any rate at present, with an Irish Parliament, in which Sinn Fein would command a majority; and, as to the troubles in the South of Ireland, they were not of her making. To disturb her in the enjoyment of her new constitution was to break faith. She was loyal to the King and to her word, and she expected others to be the same. In other words, having been informed by the British Cabinet of the terms under which the Sinn Fein leaders were ready to come to an amicable arrangement, as between Great Britain and Ireland, she refused to discuss them, because they included an All-Ireland Parliament, which she had always rejected with suspicion and scorn, and from which she believed herself to have been recently delivered by the Partition Act. And her counter-proposal was that Northern and Southern Ireland should be constituted two separate Dominions—a preposterous suggestion which Mr. Lloyd George had little difficulty in ruling out.

What is the ethical position of 'Ulster' in all this business? She believes herself to be, as it were, the only innocent party in a company of knaves. But she has never learnt to see herself as others see her; and

Digitized by Google

her attitude of arrogant intolerance and self-sufficiency is beginning to wear out the patience of old friends who recognise her good qualities. In the first place, it ought to be plainly said that Ulster is only 'loyal' when it suits her supposed interest. A month ago there were stories of refusals by some of the company to drink the King's health at Belfast dinners, because of the part which the King had played in bringing about an understanding with Sinn Fein. These tales may have been exaggerated, but there was a foundation for them. A similar thing happened in 1913–14, when Ulster was arming herself for active rebellion, and proclaiming *urbi et orbi* that she would fight the King's armies, if any attempt was made to force Home Rule upon her. At that time passion ran so high that prayers for the King were omitted in some instances from the Church services; and, where they were not omitted, men had been known to leave the church. A letter appeared in a Coleraine newspaper in July 1913 with these phrases: 'Can King George sign the Home Rule Bill? Let him do so, and his Empire shall perish as sure as God rules heaven. . . . Therefore let King George sign the Home Rule Bill; he is no longer my King.' It is not necessary to multiply such unhappy testimonies. Ulster has always been loyal to the British Crown when she thought that the King was on her side—the side of Protestants against Papists, the side of Belfast against the South; but her loyalty has always been qualified by the proviso that the King must not bid her to do anything that she does not want to do.

Ulster, indeed, gave good service to the King and Empire when the call of the Great War came to her; and this ought not to be forgotten. She took the right course when Sinn Fein took the wrong. But that cannot obliterate the records of her disloyalty in the period before the war, when she was arming and drilling her volunteers, and her Protestant ecclesiastics were actually 'consecrating' the colours which were to be used in battle against His Majesty's forces, if the latter dared to invade Ulster for purposes of coercion. The example of smuggling arms into Ireland from Germany was set by Ulster; and it is not surprising that Sinn Fein followed suit. A grave responsibility rests upon the Ulster leaders

Digitized by Google

for the bloodshed in Ireland during the last five years, for it was they who taught their fellow-countrymen how to arm themselves illegally.

Thus, Ulster cannot be exonerated from a share of the blame that rightly attaches to all who have stirred up disloyalty and strife in Ireland. The world has long since passed judgment upon the wild words and the rash acts of which she was guilty in 1912–14; and she cannot claim to be in the position of a wholly innocent party. It might have reasonably been expected that her leaders at least would appreciate the moral precariousness of her situation, and have advised her to consider her future, not merely in the light of her prejudices and her supposed interests, but in the light of her duty to her fellow-countrymen and to the British Empire. That she had a grievance in that she was asked to surrender some part of the privilege which she had gained under the Partition Act of 1920 is quite true. But she had also a duty, if she were really loyal to the Empire—the duty of helping, in so far as she could, to promote peace between Great Britain and Ireland, and thus to allay the dissatisfaction that is caused in the Dominions by Irish unrest. And this duty does not seem to have been appreciated by Ulstermen of the rank and file, who really control the policy of their titular leaders, such as Sir James Craig and Lord Londonderry.

It is idle, however, to discuss what might have been. Ulster refused to come into an All-Ireland Parliament, no matter what safeguards and securities were assured to her. And so, on Dec. 5, the Sinn Fein delegates had to be informed by the Government that an All-Ireland Parliament could not be set up at present, and that Dominion Home Rule for Southern Ireland was all that could be conceded. Yet it had been on the hypothesis of an All-Ireland Parliament that the Sinn Feiners had been persuaded to accept inclusion of Ireland within the Empire; and thus it appeared, on that fateful day, to most well-informed persons on both sides that the Conference would break up, and that Ireland would revert to the dreadful conditions of last winter.

Happily wiser counsels prevailed, despite Ulster's refusal to stir from her moorings. The Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr Chamberlain—to name the

Digitized by Google

three men who were foremost on our side—had succeeded in persuading the Irish delegates, on the one hand, that they were sincere in the offer that they had put forward, and, on the other, that the concession of a Republic for Ireland could never be extorted from Great Britain. At the same time, Mr Griffith and Mr Collins were anxious to have peace, if Irish independence were granted in full measure; and after many hours of anxious negotiation, Articles of Agreement were signed at 2.30 in the morning of Dec. 6, and were printed in the newspapers on Dec. 7.

It must be admitted that these Articles of Agreement give to Ireland far more than O'Connell, Parnell, or Redmond, in their most sanguine moments, had ever asked for. The Act of Union had been abrogated, indeed, by the Government of Ireland Act of 1914; but these Articles go beyond a mere repeal of the Union. They place Ireland in the position of Canada, with two differences. First, Britain retains control of Irish naval bases, as is essential for security when the proximity of Ireland to England is considered. And secondly, the Oath of Allegiance is altered, so that, while an Irish member of Parliament is to swear 'true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State,' he only promises to be 'faithful' to the King. There is a difference of phraseology which naturally arouses the suspicion of a sinister meaning. On the Sinn Fein side, the difference is explained to be this, that while one only promises 'allegiance' to one's superior, to a 'liege lord,' one may promise to be 'faithful' to an equal, who can demand no obedience in virtue of a promise of faithfulness; and thus the Irish susceptibility as to Britain's 'sovereignty' is protected. We own that we do not like these qualifications; but, inasmuch as it is clear that no one could promise to be 'faithful' to the King, and at the same time contemplate taking up arms against him or his forces, the distinction between 'allegiance' and 'faithfulness' has little significance. And, in any case, as His Majesty has accepted the Articles of Agreement with an obviously heartfelt satisfaction, we do not claim to be 'plus royalistes que le roi.'

With these differences, Ireland is to be in the position of Canada; Irishmen will still be British subjects, so

Digitized by Google

that they will be eligible for the many positions in the Colonies and at home which they have filled in the past with credit to themselves and with benefit to the Empire. Were Ireland granted that Republican form of government to which her idealists aspire, Irishmen would be aliens so far as the British Empire is concerned, and could hold no post, in the Army, in the Navy, or in civil administration under commission from the King. As things have been settled by the 'Articles of Agreement,' Southern Ireland will become an 'Irish Free State,' within the Empire, Ulster remaining as she is, with Home Rule for herself under the provisions of the Act of 1920. There are to be, or may be, some small modifications of the frontier which now separates Ulster from the rest of Ireland; but this is of little consequence, although Ulster, *more suo*, is already beginning to complain of it as unjust. It should be added that Ulster can still come in with the rest of Ireland, if she desires to do so. There are important provisions in the Articles of Agreement for the payment by Ireland of a portion of the war debts (the amount to be fixed by arbitration), and of compensation to public servants who retire in consequence of the change of government (Arts. 5, 10); and also in regard to the prohibition of any religious 'differentiation' for purposes of taxation, and of any seizure of the property of religious bodies or of educational institutions (Art. 16). These clauses are very well, but they would be quite insufficient if Article 2 did not provide that from Ireland, as from Canada, any dispute as to their legal interpretation may be referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This right of appeal is inherent in the words:

> 'The position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government *and otherwise* shall be that of the Dominion of Canada; and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.'

But it is highly desirable, in order to avoid the possibility of misunderstanding, that what is here implicit should be made explicit in the Act of Parliament in which it will

Digitized by Google

be necessary to embody the Articles of Agreement in a complete form.

This leads to a reflexion which must have presented itself to every one who has studied the recent history of Irish affairs. The people who have most to lose by any such settlement as this are the Southern loyalists, that small band of 350,000 people who have clung, in dark days and bright days alike, to their citizenship of the United Kingdom as their greatest heritage. This they are to lose, and without any fault of theirs. They are to be reduced in future—we say it without any offence—to the status of citizens of Canada or Australia, intimately associated, indeed, with Britain, by the bonds of blood and speech and Empire, but no longer possessing the full citizenship of 'the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.' They are to be deprived of this, which they have prized with a passionate loyalty and devotion, because the majority of their neighbours have desired to abolish the Union, and have been wholly unscrupulous in the methods which they adopted to bring about the fulfilment of their desire.

Southern loyalists are protected, in two directions, by the provisions of Article 16 to which we have already referred; but they deserve more ample and sympathetic consideration in the supplementary legislation which must be enacted before the Irish Free State can start on its independent course. They have placed before the Government, in a letter from Lord Midleton, published on Dec. 12, their opinion that, before the new regime comes into being, land-purchase must be completed, and 'the questions of dual taxation in the two countries, the provision of compensation for losses during the late unrest, and the education grants guaranteed under Section 64 of the Act of 1920,' must be satisfactorily arranged. We are glad to notice that Mr Griffith, for his part, in a letter to the Prime Minister written on Dec. 6, has agreed that the loyalist minority should be fully represented in the new Parliament of Ireland; and that he and his friends look for the co-operation of former Unionists in the shaping of the 'Irish Free State.' And we observe also that Trinity College, Dublin, which is the centre of Irish loyalty, as befits a royal foundation, has expressed the hope that her graduates will take 'an

Digitized by Google

active and sympathetic part' in 'the building up of happier conditions in Ireland.' These indications of good will, on the one side and on the other, are of hopeful augury for the future; but they do not exonerate the British Government from endeavouring, in every way that is still in their power, to secure, in advance, their friends in Ireland from any partial or unfair treatment. Good will is not the less to be trusted when it is fortified by legislation.

Many persons are dissatisfied with the British concessions—and they have been large—to violence, which are granted in this Irish 'treaty.' And such persons may fairly ask, What is thought of the 'treaty' by the loyalist minority who will be the first to suffer, if any one suffers because of it? The answer has been made plain during the last month. Irish loyalists have no responsibility for the Articles of Settlement. They do not like them; they would prefer to be citizens of the United Kingdom, if that were still possible. But they know that it is not possible. Things have gone too far for that. The alternative to agreement by reconciliation and compromise is war, of so devastating and dreadful a kind, that their country—~~for Ireland is their country~~, just as truly as it is the country of the Sinn Fein party—would be ruined, their homes destroyed, and many more lives sacrificed. Loyalists have acquiesced, because nothing could be worse for them than a continuance of the conditions of the past twelve months, and because they are certain that Britain can no longer protect them, unless she undertakes to reconquer Ireland completely and ruthlessly. Were the Irish majority so mad and foolish as to reject the extraordinarily generous offer which England has now made, and to persist in their endeavour to establish an independent Republic by force of arms, then indeed England would have to put out her strength and pitilessly to crush her turbulent neighbours, as she could do if she pleased. But, it would be wrong to contemplate so dreadful a contingency. No ~~loyalist~~ would wish to go back to the misery of last winter; and many among them are not without hope that, in the Ireland of the future, they may yet find an honourable and useful place.

The verdict of the Houses of Parliament given on

Digitized by Google

Dec. 16 is a demonstration on the grand scale that Englishmen and Scotchmen believe that the Southern loyalists are taking a wise as well as a patriotic course, although they have many perils to face in the days to come. For the truth is, that the only alternative to the Government proposals was war, naked and unashamed; and this no one ventured to deny. Those who voted with Lord Carson in the House of Lords, and with the 'Die-Hards' in the House of Commons, were able to suggest no other constructive policy; and this was, perhaps, the most significant feature in the debates, if we except Mr Bonar Law's plain statement that he, personally, in the circumstances, approved of the Agreement.

At the time of writing, Dail Eireann has not accepted the Articles of Settlement. Mr de Valera has done his best to set them aside; and he has been assisted in his campaign against his own 'plenipotentiaries' by a gang of wild women, who are the most dangerous people in Ireland at present. Hysterical and vengeful, these Mænads (of whom not all are of Irish birth) cry out for blood, rather than for peace; and, whatever may be the future government of Ireland, unless they are suppressed, violence and disorder will be encouraged. But, so soon as Dail Eireann agrees to honour the signatures of its own chosen representatives, there is no doubt that the members of the Southern Irish Parliament will ratify the treaty formally. All Ireland longs for peace; and there has been a remarkable *rapprochement* between men of various schools of political thought at this fateful moment of Irish history. It would be idle to prophesy. The unexpected generally happens in Ireland; and no one on this side of the Channel really understands the motives which sway the wayward Irish people. But one thing is certain. Peace is only given to those who seek peace. The benediction of peace on earth was addressed to men of good will; and such men may yet be found of every political complexion and of every race.

CORRIGENDUM.

On p. 404 of the last (October) number, line 7, *for* 'the Agadir incident' *read* 'the Kaiser's visit to Tangier.'

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

New and Important Books

HE MASTER OF MAN — **By Hall Caine**

A new novel by the noted English writer. An unusual theme treated in an unusual way. It presents a vivid picture of life, tearlessly portrayed, a masterpiece of realism, and above all a brilliant literary achievement.

ice, $1.75; carriage extra — J. B. Lippincott Co.

RINCESS SALOME — **By Burris Jenkins**

"A Tale of the Days of Camel Bells." A story that is startling, dramatic and makes real the wonder and emotion which must have been experienced by the early followers of Christ. A great story with a Biblical setting.

ice, $2.00; carriage extra — J. B. Lippincott Co.

PROJECT CURRICULUM — **By Margaret E. Wells**

An educational treatise dealing with the project as a means of organizing the curriculum of the elementary school. A fine and stimulating study in educational methods.

J. B. Lippincott Co.

YNDICALISM AND PHILOSOPHICAL REALISM — **By J. W. Scott**

A study in the correlation of contemporary social tendencies. A notable and stimulating book.

A. & C. Black

THE A. E. F.

ISTORY OF THE A. E. F. — **By Shipley Thomas**

The only complete history of the great work accomplished by the A. E. F. in France. Beginning with General Pershing's arrival in France, it gives a clear, vivid and consecutive picture of the landing, training, defense of "quiet sectors" and all the engagements of the A. E. F.; the relative importance of the battles; a summary of the actions of the Allied armies; and a description of the battlefields. The author also gives the history of the auxiliary arms; the Air Service, Heavy Artillery, Tank Corps, etc., and many other military topics directly related with the great American effort in France. The book also includes a complete guide to the battlefields, with a summary of the battles of the war on the Western Front. An extraordinarily able and authoritative book. With 129 detail maps, diagrams and illustrations.

Price, $7.00 net; carriage extra — George H. Doran Co.

VENIZELOS

VENIZELOS — **By Herbert Adams Gibbons**

A notable biographical study of the most notable living Greek. Dr. Gibbons, whose books upon European affairs have given him a leading position among American writers on European diplomacy, was in Paris throughout the German war. During the Peace Conference he was in very close touch with Mr. Venizelos and writes from the fullest possible knowledge. His book is a notable contribution to international biography and is as readable as it is important. World events of the utmost importance centre on the ancient land of Greece. The intimate knowledge of the man and the statesman as portrayed by Dr. Gibbons is essential to a correct understanding of events still in the process of making.

Price, $3.50 net; carriage extra — Houghton Mifflin Co.

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY

249 West 13th Street, New York

Digitized by Google

The Washington Conference

DISARMAMENT AS A PRACTICAL POLICY By J. Ellis Barker
—Fortnightly Review

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE:

(1) **The World's Desire for Peace**
By Lieut.-Colonel Gerald B. Hurst, K.C., M.P.
(2) **Australia's Position** By Prof. Meredith Atkinson
(3) **The Spirit of Russia** By C. Hagberg Wright
(4) **Service Experts at War Councils**
By Major-General Sir Charles E. Callwell, K.C.B.
—The Nineteenth Century and After

WASHINGTON:

(1) **By Viscount Bryce, O.M.**
(2) **By the Right Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M. P.**
(3) **Mr. Lansing and the League of Nations** By J. R. M. Butler
—The Contemporary Review

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE:

(1) **America and Her Place in the Sun** By James Davenport Whelpley
(2) **The Washington Conference and the Naval Issue**
By Archibald Hurd
(3) **The Rush for Siberia: Causes of the Present Crisis in the Pacific**
By Robert Wilton
(4) **Developments in the Far East** By Robert Machray
—Fortnightly Review

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES By Herbert W. Horwill
—The Contemporary Review

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE:

(1) **The Washington Conference** By J. St. Loe Strachey
(2) **The Purpose and Nature of a Fleet**
By Colonel J. F. C. Fuller, D.S.O. (G.S.O.I. of the Tank Corps, Dec. 1916-Aug. 1918)
—The Nineteenth Century and After

THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS
By Major-General Sir F. Maurice, K.C.M.G.
—The Contemporary Review

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE:

(1) **America Looks at Europe** By Sisley Huddleston
(2) **Problems of the Pacific** By Frederic Coleman
—Fortnightly Review

Price per group of articles as listed, 75 cents

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING CO.
249 West 13th St., New York

Digitized by Google

ORIGINAL ENGLISH EDITION

The QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 471 APRIL, 1922

I. Studley Royal. By Viscount Esher, G.C.B.
II. Napoleon and the British Navy after Trafalgar. By Sir Julian Corbett
III. The Resignation of Bismarck. By George Saunders
IV. The Problem of Modern Industry. By Prof. A. E. Zimmern
V. The Adams Family. By Worthington Chauncey Ford
VI. The Position and Prospects of Agriculture. By Sir R. Henry Rew, K.C.B.
VII. The French Drama of Manners. By Garnet Smith
VIII. The Naval War, 1914-1915. By Lord Sydenham, G.C.M.G.
IX. Viscount Bryce, O.M. By The Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart.
X. The Life of Lord Salisbury.
XI. Egypt.
XII. Byron's Letters. By Lord Ernle

Published Quarterly by the

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY

(BARR FERREE, PROP.)

249 WEST THIRTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK.

Single Copies $1.50 Yearly Subscription $5.00

Canada Subscription $5.00 per year; Single Copies $1.50

Entered at New York Post Office as Second Class Matter

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY

Digitized by Google

MONTFAUCON

L'ANTIQUITÉ EXPLIQUÉE ET REPRESENTÉE EN FIGURES. 1719. 10 vols. Folio.

SUPPLEMENT. Paris, 1729-1733. 5 vols Folio.

LES MONUMENS DE LA MONARCHIE FRANCOISE. Paris, 1733. 5 vols. Folio.

A fine set of Montfaucon's works, including the *Monumens de la Mo francoise,* which is seldom offered. All in the original full calf bindings, i condition. *L'Antiquité Expliquée* and the *Supplement* are uniformly bound. French series have somewhat richer gilding. All with red edges.

These noble books constitute one of the most remarkable surveys of ancie early French life and monuments. They contain hundreds of plates exqu engraved and present the most comprehensive book on the subjects of which they 20 volumes in all. A rare and unusual offering.

Price, complete, $150.00

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.,
249 West 13th Street, New York

SCHOOLS

New Jersey

College of St. Elizabeth

Convent Station, New Jersey
45 Minutes from New York

Catholic College for Women

Registered by Regents

Standard College Preparatory Courses

Academy of St. Elizabeth
Send for Catalogue

SHORT COURSE IN NURSING

Francis E. Parker Hospital for chronic and convalescent patients offers a nine months' course in nursing to pupils of

INTELLIGENCE, REFINEMENT AND PURPOSE

Diplomas

Particulars from

MRS. NOBLE, Superintendent
New Brunswick :: :: New Jersey

California

California Hospital, Los Angeles

School for Nurses The most noted private hospital in this beautiful residence city.

Medical, Surgical, Maternity, Eye and Ear and X-Ray Departments. In the midst of tropical gardens. Booklets free. 1414 South Hope St., Los Angeles. Also a limited number of young men (High School Graduates) admitted to a two years' course.

University of Southern California

(Los Angeles)

COLLEGES—Liberal Arts, Dentistry, Pharmacy, Law, Music, Fine Arts, Oratory and Theology.

HIGH STANDARDS in Scholarship and Morals. Expenses moderate. Climate unexcelled. 4100 Students. Send for Catalogue.

...08. GEORGE F. BOVARD, A.M., D.D., LL.D.
University Avenue

SCHOOLS

New York

Saint Mary's Sch

Mount Saint Gab

PEEKSKILL-ON-THE-HUDSON, N

Boarding School for G

Under the charge of the Sisters of St. New fireproof building beautifully sit For catalogues address *The Sister Su*

NEW YORK MILITA ACADEMY

CORNWALL ON HUDSON, N.

A famous preparatory school with a magnificent equipment and an ideal location.

FOR CATALOGUE WRITE TO THE PRINCI

Ohio

Art Academy of Cincinn

Thoroughly Equipped Art School

Winter and Summer Term

J. H. GEST, Director CINCINN

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AF

Fortnightly Review, Contemporary Review; one, per year $7.00; any two, $13.50; the t $20.00. Blackwood's Magazine, $5.00; Quar Review, Edinburgh Review, $5.00 each; the $9.50. Blackwood's and one quarterly, $9.50; two, $13.50. Canada postage extra.

Leonard Scott Publication Co.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 471

PUBLISHED IN

APRIL, 1922

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W. 1.

NEW YORK:

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY

1922

Digitized by Google

GENERAL INDEX TO THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A new Index, forming Volume CCXXII., comprising the volumes from CCII. to CCXXI., of the QUARTERLY REVIEW, has been published, and is obtainable through any bookseller (Price 6/- net).

☞ The QUARTERLY REVIEW is published on or about the 15th of January, April, July, and October.

Price Thirty-two Shillings per Annum, *post free.*

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, Limited,
London and Beccles, England.

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

No. 471.—APRIL, 1922.

ART.		PAGE
1.	STUDLEY ROYAL. By Viscount Esher, G.C.B.	219
2.	NAPOLEON AND THE BRITISH NAVY AFTER TRAFALGAR. By Sir Julian Corbett	238
3.	THE RESIGNATION OF BISMARCK. By George Saunders	256
4.	THE PROBLEM OF MODERN INDUSTRY. By A. E. Zimmern	275
5.	THE ADAMS FAMILY. By Worthington Chauncey Ford	298
6.	THE POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF AGRICULTURE. By Sir R. Henry Rew, K.C.B.	313
7.	THE FRENCH DRAMA OF MANNERS. By Garnet Smith	333
8.	THE NAVAL WAR, 1914–15. By Lord Sydenham, G.C.M.G.	354
9.	THE LIFE OF LORD SALISBURY	378
10.	JAMES BRYCE. By The Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart	400
11.	THE EGYPTIAN PROBLEM. By J. A. Spender	415
12.	BYRON'S LETTERS. By Lord Ernle, M.V.O.	430

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

NOS. 469 AND 470.

No. 469.—OCTOBER, 1921.

ART.		PAGE
1.	Recent Shakespearean Research.—I.	225
2.	How the 'Adoration of the Lamb' was Saved	244
3.	Tchehov and his Art	257
4.	The Air Raids on London	270
5.	Roman Life in the Time of Pliny the Younger	292
6.	The American Telephone and its Lesson	308
7.	The Origin of Hindu Serious Drama	322
8.	The Fiction Market	340
9.	New Light on Mediæval England	350
10.	A History of French Architecture	366
11.	Cardinal Manning	381
12.	Two Russian Statesmen	402
13.	The Tri-une Kingdom, Political and Economical	418

No. 470.—JANUARY, 1922.

1.	Recent Shakespearean Research.—II.	1
2.	London Life in the Time of Addison	18
3.	Abyssinia under Menelik and After	33
4.	Austin Dobson	53
5.	River Control in Mesopotamia	68
6.	Political Demonology	85
7.	William Ernest Henley	101
8.	Monarchism in Central Europe	113
9.	David Henderson	126
10.	Fascism and its Political Influences in Italy	134
11.	Russian Diplomacy before the War	155
12.	The Navy and the Washington Conference	177
13.	Overseas Political Confederation	188
14.	Ireland	203

Digitized by Google

MAY 9 1922

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 471.—APRIL, 1922.

ART. 1.—STUDLEY ROYAL.

1. *Life of the first Marquess of Ripon, K.G.* By Lucien Wolf. Two vols. Murray, 1921.
2. *Private Diaries and Correspondence of Lord Esher.*

IF it be true that nobody ever wrote a dull autobiography, because the dullest would in spite of themselves say something profoundly interesting, if only by way of explaining how they came to be so dull, this cannot be said of biography. Mr Lytton Strachey has destroyed the palate of the public for the conventional official biography. There are still a few readers and critics—ex-Ministers and such people—who disagree with Leslie Stephen's dictum that most official biographies are a mixture of bungling and indiscretion; a few who still profoundly reverence the House of Commons tone in literature, who relish mere echoes, and fight shy of impressions at first hand. To them we may commit all full-dress political biographies, in the hope that the story of their own achievement or failure may be recorded with the restraint and taste shown by the biographer of Lord Ripon. Until Mr Lytton Strachey flamed into an amused world, biographies had been, in the main, written by politicians for politicians. Every Prime Minister hopes and expects to have his 'Life' recorded in three volumes and published in fine type with a selection of flattering portraits; a subordinate Minister's expectations are limited to two. But the biographer should be chosen from among his followers or acolytes, pledged to correct pose and erase any blemish. That Cromwell should have asked Cooper—or

Digitized by Google

some lesser artist—not to shirk the wart on his face, is inconceivable to the 'ministerial breed' that hankers after posthumous fame. The weakness of official biography is its soullessness. There is no difficulty in connecting a prominent politician with the public events which he shaped or which shaped him; but the man himself is apt to remain a lay figure clad in the robes of the Garter or in those of some other high order of chivalry. The book before us does not suffer from these defects.

George, first Marquess of Ripon, descended on his mother's side, through the Earls of Buckinghamshire, from Hampden, traced his descent also through the Robinsons and Francis Worsley to Cromwell. He had inherited the facial disfigurement of his great ancestor. He was proud of it, and, although by no means devoid of aristocratic hauteur, he was so humble and lowly of heart that he would have resented eulogy untempered by honest criticism. Ruskin, discoursing on the Stones of Venice, remarked that restored history is of little more value than restored painting or architecture, and that the only history worth reading was written at the time of which it treats. He excepted such volumes of biography as contained letters, memoranda, and journals which had escaped destruction, declaring them to be the unrestored portions of the fabric of a man's life, indispensable to the psychologist and the student; pages that a cynical or sympathetic reader gladly turns to when weary of the 'mere echoes' with which nine-tenths of an official biography are commonly filled. From these unrestored fragments some scholar, delightful handler of prose and verse, is enabled to contrast the rapid and progressive deterioration in the class that from the time of Pericles acquired ascendancy at Athens, with a similar phase of English public life, when the 'mongers,' as Aristophanes called them, began to take the place at Westminster of the landed classes and the families of ancient culture.

Lord Ripon was no 'monger'; he belonged to the disappearing class. Born at No. 10, Downing Street, during the 'transient and embarrassed' occupancy by his father of Walpole's old house, the delicacy of his boyhood as well as his father's prejudices deprived him

Digitized by Google

of the advantages of a public school and university education. An only child, he grew up among the flat woodlands of a corner of Lincolnshire, in the old house of Nocton which belonged to his mother and which, when times grew hard, he was forced reluctantly to sell, in order to keep unhampered the Yorkshire property of Studley Royal. Nocton was famous for its lily-carpeted woods, and afforded enough sport to inspire the boy with that love of shooting, fishing, and entomology which neither a political career nor the Church of Rome disturbed. It was in the aloofness and stillness of the park at Nocton that he acquired what his biographer, accurately striking the characteristic note of his character, describes as that 'secretive habit,' which lasted him through life, 'of reading himself into opinions of his own and saying little or nothing about them until they had become convictions beyond recall.'

When, nearing the age of fifty and Grand Master of the English Freemasons, having quitted a few months earlier Mr Gladstone's Government upon a political issue, he resolved to accept the sacramental authority of the Pope, no Freemason or old colleague or intimate friend had an inkling of his intention. Only Lady Ripon suspected, but even she was uncertain, although she was aware that for many months he had retired with volumes of Newman and the early Fathers to that austere bookroom at Studley which, sunless and fireless, he persistently occupied from early manhood to old age.

He married, in his twenty-fifth year, his cousin Henrietta Vyner, grand-daughter of his uncle Earl de Grey. Lord Goderich, as Lord Ripon was then by courtesy called, was described by his friend Tom Hughes as a Revolutionary Radical and a Christian Socialist—terms equivalent to those of Bolshevist or Pacifist to-day. 'You speak of rich, idle, and capitalists,' his friend Charles Kingsley wrote to him; 'I think putting the latter worthies into the same category with the two former may give needless offence.' But Goderich's extreme views of universal brotherhood, denouncing as he did the right of 'aristocracies of talent,' although they gave offence to his family, met with the warm approval of his friends Kingsley and Tom Hughes. Their effect upon Frederick Maurice, the 'Prophet' as

Digitized by Google

he was called and the leader of the band, was very different. Goderich soon found that he had forfeited the good opinion of the Prophet; and, although he took this fall from grace good-humouredly, and although his democratic outlook on life remained unchanged, yet, when he stood for Hull, his opponents were quick to note the moderation of his election address and the compelling forces which led him to ally himself with Liberalism of the tepid and orthodox type.

If his family and his Whig relatives had hoped that his wife would exercise a restraining influence over his advanced opinions, their hope was never realised; for, although Lady Goderich professed no adherence to any religious group or political party, her opinions, through life, were in strong sympathy with those of her husband and of the friends of 'Christian Socialism,' who were also her friends in the early days of her womanhood. When the 'centre of gravity of his political views shifted from Christian Socialism to political Radicalism,' hers remained fixed. In time, she became the central figure of a small coterie of sincere and earnest men, of whom Goschen and W. E. Forster were the most prominent figures. She was the intimate adviser and friend of William Harcourt during long years between the loss of his first wife and his second marriage. The Ripons had but one child, but children were gathered to Studley Royal from the highways. Tom Hughes and his children were often there. Dicky Doyle, who should have been—as Mr Disraeli said to the present writer once at Longleat—Court painter to Queen Titania, was a constant guest; and his pictures are full of tiny figures that he saw running about the grounds of Fountains Abbey.

Lady Ripon was extraordinarily wise. Not profoundly read, careless of logic and discarding philosophy, her mind flew along channels of sympathy and tenderness to the practical solution of the problem of the moment. Her sanity curbed the impulsive brilliance of William Harcourt; her rectitude was a guide to the ingenious tortuosities of Goschen; while her loving kindness often proved a balm for the sensitive misgivings of W. E. Forster. Always at the service of those who were in doubt or difficulty, she turned a colder aspect upon the successful and shrank from the triumphant. Her

Digitized by Google

heart went out to lame dogs and winged birds—to men who under a complacent or combative exterior appealed in private for help. With Mr Gladstone she was never intimate, much as she admired his gifts, staunchly as she supported his policy. He made no call upon her resources of pity. Although she had but one child of her own, children and the love of them supplied her with the satisfaction that other women found in amusement or society. Never happier than when she could lure to Studley her little nieces, the fairy children of her brother Robert Vyner, she was deeply interested in another near relative, a small orphan girl of singular mental poise and abnormal powers of enchantment in one so young—the only daughter of Julian Fane. Her parents had died young, and her father's memory, embalmed in the hearts of a few devoted friends, was enshrined in a volume of verse edited by Robert, Lord Lytton. Ettie Fane was under the guardianship of Henry Cowper, her uncle; and the days at Studley were red-letter ones when, with his little ward's hand resting on his knee, his delightful restrained wit flashed across the company assembled there.

Perhaps, of all her relatives and friends, Lady Ripon loved best Henry Cowper and her eldest brother Clare. Clare's was a romantic figure. In his quiet home at Newby, presided over with singular grace by his beautiful old mother, Lady Mary Vyner, or at Newmarket, where he found much happiness, Clare Vyner excited among men and women that interest which refined and chivalrous sportsmen often inspire. Lord Hartington, as a rule so reserved, once said that, of all the men he had ever known, he liked Clare Vyner best. Lady Ripon and her brother had much in common, besides their charming looks and gentle ways. Neither was robust in health, and both lived aloof from the world of fashion, loving the society of intimate friends. Another motherless child found a home at Studley. Since the time when he was left with a baby son upon his hands, William Harcourt had turned to Lady Ripon for comfort and advice. His boy grew up under her care. Hardly a day passed when Lady Ripon was in London that William Harcourt or his son was not to be found in Carlton Gardens.

Digitized by Google

Lord Ripon moved with composure amid the hurly-burly of other people's children and grandchildren. His regular habits were undisturbed. Punctuality and order were for him sacred rites. If for a long day's sport in the Western Hebrides the hour of starting was fixed, Lord Ripon waited for no one. At Studley as the hands of the clock pointed to the hour, he would stalk into dinner; and his guests must conform or follow. At ten minutes past ten, after his nightly cup of tea, he would rise from the round table at which he habitually sat, and taking a book under his arm, with a half-comic, half-ceremonious bow, would proceed to bed. Whether in the Isle of Harris or at Studley, whether in London or at Simla, the fixed routine was rigidly followed.

It did not require the remarkable skill of his son with gun, rifle, and rod to attach him to sport and to his Yorkshire moors. For some years he rented from Lord Dunmore stalking and fishing in the Isle of Harris, but it was always to Studley Royal that he returned gladly whenever free from the political burdens that he had himself sought as part of that duty to his neighbour which was the motto of his life. He was a keen, perhaps an overkeen, shot. He was an untiring walker for his build and weight. When sport over the moors at Dallowgill or the stubbles at Hutton was not available, he would stroll companionless for hours in the grounds, with their series of ornamental lakes and eighteenth-century Gazebos, with which the taste of that period had adorned—or dimmed—the glories of Fountains Abbey. The house at Studley Royal was unpretentious, even plain, but the deer-park and timber were beautiful; while Fountains Abbey, for dignity, massiveness, and romantic charm, is unsurpassed.

For fifty years, from 1859, when Lord Ripon became Under Secretary for War, until 1909, when he died, within a few months of his retirement from office, he was seldom free from the performance of high administrative functions; and throughout those years his honesty and patience, his single-mindedness, his love of order and accurate methods, whether at the War Office or in India or as President of the Council, made amends for any qualities of eloquence or genius which he may have lacked. By his subordinates he was respected,

Digitized by Google

and by his colleagues he was sincerely liked. If he roused no enthusiasm, he inspired confidence, which perhaps is a better thing. In India, to quote Lord Hartington's eulogistic phrase, he was so popular that there is no knowing what measure he could not carry, and 'this popularity seems to me to have been earned in the most legitimate manner and entirely by the conviction, which you and your colleagues have been able to bring home to all classes, that you and your Government were devoting your whole energies to measures for improving the condition of the people and developing the resources of the country.'

To have drawn from Hartington, sparing of praise, so warm a benediction was a feather in Lord Ripon's Viceregal cap. If, however, Hartington's words had found an echo in India, they would have met with a different response at home. Lord Ripon was never a popular figure in England beyond the confines of his own West Riding. He belonged to a class of administrators who, from the accession of the House of Hanover down to the end of the Victorian era, served the country uncheered by popular favour, and without any reasonable hope of posthumous fame. As a rule, a statesman who rouses no hatred inspires no enthusiasm. Palmerston, the mountebank, as he was dubbed by the youthful band of Christian Pacifists who hated his swagger, when he died ten years later, was lamented by Tom Hughes in very different terms: 'Poor old Palmerston! I can't help feeling as if I have lost a personal friend.' His enemies had ended by loving his shrewdness, daring, insularity, and good-nature. Among his successors, Mr Gladstone, Lord Beaconsfield, and Mr Lloyd George, because of the hatred or admiration that an electric personality stirs in the hearts of men, are sure of that fame which outside a library is denied to the average Prime Minister. In the long roll of men who climb to high political office, a few only are sure of posthumous fame; the rest are sure of nothing but four pages in a supplement to the Dictionary of National Biography.

Kingsley's admiration of Palmerston grieved Lord Ripon greatly. 'I cannot doubt that Viscount to be the most unprincipled man in the House of Commons next to Disraeli,' he wrote to Tom Hughes, adding, 'to

Digitized by Google

set up Lord Palmerston as the man to be Prime Minister is just about the most wretched error and miserable falling-down before cleverness (genius he has not) I can conceive.' Within five years, as Lord Ripon's biographer observes, he was contentedly serving under this 'self-seeking adventurer' in his second Administration. Lord Ripon was not to blame. In politics there are no irrevocable sensibilities. Lord Ripon, when young and steeped in enthusiasm, was surprised at his own conversion to the view that 'poor old Palmerston' possessed virtues which he failed to discern in Lord John Russell. Thirty years later he expressed no surprise when Lord Rosebery, who, 'as a Peer and an Imperialist, was anathema to the Radicals in the House of Commons,' found himself embarrassed by the clamour of those unbending stalwarts who offered to serve under him when he was engaged in forming his Government. Ten years later, Lord Ripon, now thoroughly disillusioned, could afford to look with amusement upon the 'relatively easy task' of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, into whose Cabinet the Liberal Imperialists, headed by Mr Asquith, rushed—with two notable exceptions—with indecent haste.

Lord Ripon's letters show that high standard of loyalty to party leadership which he adopted early in life and maintained to the end. Mr Gladstone's retirement, after his defeat in 1874, chimed with Lord Ripon's entry into communion with the Church of Rome. During the following years he felt that he had put an end to his chance of a return to office, but, smarting under Mr Gladstone's attack upon the Church of his adoption, he determined not to accept an exclusion which might be interpreted to confirm the imputations cast by Mr Gladstone upon the loyalty of Roman Catholics. He definitely attached himself to Hartington, who had been elected Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, and henceforward became one of the most eager attendants at the party councils which met at Devonshire House. Alternately with Lord Granville, he entertained the Liberal party leaders in Carlton Gardens on the eve of the session, when Hartington read the Queen's Speech which was due to be delivered on the morrow.

Digitized by Google

During the fateful days in May 1880 when the choice of a Liberal Prime Minister was in doubt, Lord Ripon, although anxious for office, stood firmly by his chosen leader, and watched his old associates pass swiftly over to Mr Gladstone. His biographer makes less clear the events that followed the final retirement of Mr Gladstone in 1894, when once more the loyalty of politicians was smartly tested. Lord Rosebery's temperament, so different from the cheerful resilience of Campbell-Bannerman, struck a tragic note in the kindly heart of Lord Ripon, when he found his chief deserted by the men who had forced the Premiership upon him. Lord Morley's recollection is that Lord Rosebery was well aware of the difficulties that confronted him when he reluctantly accepted the task imposed upon him by Queen Victoria. If so, his forecast was a true one, for towards the end of the year his Cabinet was in such confusion that, according to a letter of Mr Asquith's to Lord Ripon, written two years later, consultation between the Prime Minister and the leader of the House of Commons had to be carried on by a third party, presumably Mr Asquith himself. When Lord Rosebery's harassed Government fell, and the Liberal Party was crushed at the General Election that followed, the troubles over the leadership of the party were not ended. Amid recriminations and aggravated rivalries, Lord Ripon seems to have been the first to endeavour to bridge a gulf that was unbridgeable. When, after differences and provocations, including the unexpected emergence of Mr Gladstone from his retirement at a moment of unusual tension, Lord Rosebery resigned the leadership of the Liberal party, and at a farewell meeting held in Edinburgh was supposed to have nominated Mr Asquith as his political heir, Ripon never abandoned hope of his leader's return. 'I found Rosebery full of life,' he wrote to Lord Spencer, 'and evidently beginning to work for a future leadership free from the Harcourt connexion. I hope he will not try to push matters too quickly.'

From Dec. 11, 1896, when this letter was written, to Dec. 12 two years later, when Sir William Harcourt, writing to Lord Ripon from his home at Malwood, described the 'situation as intolerable,' and declared his

Digitized by Google

resolve not to appear in the House of Commons again as leader, rumours and sectional intrigues were rife. 'What Gladstone had been to Hartington and Rosebery himself,' Lord Ripon's biographer writes, 'Rosebery was now to Harcourt.' It may have been so, and Sir William Harcourt certainly believed that a 'plot for a Rosebery restoration was actually on foot'; but of these plots and intrigues there is, as yet, very meagre proof. When Campbell-Bannerman was unexpectedly chosen leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, Ripon was surprised; but his keen sense of discipline and party loyalty led him to accept the party choice and to abide by it. Throughout these difficult years, when Campbell-Bannerman was so bitterly assailed, Ripon was always there to comfort and support. 'State your policy plainly in your coming speech,' he wrote from Studley in November 1900, 'and then, when we meet before the session to consider the line to be taken, say distinctly in the face of Asquith, Grey, Fowler, H. Gladstone and the rest, that, if you are not supported in that policy by the party as a whole, they will have to find another leader. I am pretty confident that they will shrink from the necessity.' Lord Ripon was not mistaken. They shrank.

In the summer and autumn of 1901, the 'revolt of our *Lib. Imps*—the *Chartered* Company, as I call them,' Campbell-Bannerman wrote to Ripon, had failed; 'the Asquith demonstration squib fizzed off the wrong way, and for the present all things go well.' But, although Sir Henry could write lightly of the 'intrigues,' Ripon was full of indignation at 'the way in which Asquith and others behaved to you'; and, believing that a break was inevitable, he expressed a strong hope that 'no patched-up arrangement' would be made. He need have had no apprehension. Although there were 'rival tabernacles,' the great majority of the Liberal Party were with Campbell-Bannerman and Ripon. Liberal Imperialism in its schismatic form counted only a few adherents. When it became evident that Mr Balfour's Administration was near its end, and that Campbell-Bannerman was the alternative Prime Minister, the rats began to hasten away from the foundering Liberal League. A final stand was made by Sir Edward Grey

Digitized by Google

and Mr Haldane. Deserted by their friends and companions, they endeavoured to make terms. It was intimated to Sir Henry that, if he would consent to sterilise his influence by going to the House of Lords, leaving Mr Asquith to lead the House of Commons, the last of the Liberal Leaguers would enter his Cabinet. Ripon advised strongly against this solution of a problem whose gravity he questioned; and Sir Henry referred the matter to an arbitrament where decisions for him were final. The story is well known. Lady Campbell-Bannerman was an invalid, but her faculties and judgment were unimpaired. Standing before one of his faithful colleagues, Sir Henry pointed with his finger to the ceiling of the room in which they stood, and said, '*She* says no.' This settled the matter. The Liberal Leaguers accepted the decision; the Government, under Sir Henry, was formed; and Lord Ripon, in his seventy-eighth year, consented to take the Privy Seal and the leadership of the House of Lords.

From 1900 onwards the two men were knit together by enduring friendship rare in political life. When there came a moment of great sorrow to Lord Ripon and he had passed his eightieth year, he told Campbell-Bannerman, then Prime Minister, that he was old and battered, and good for nothing but the quiet that should precede the grave. But the Prime Minister—himself not far away from the final call—remembered the help and uncomplaining devotion he had always received from his colleague. 'I most earnestly hope that you will remain among us, setting an example, keeping us to principles when we are tempted to stray, and by your wise and kindly spirit winning the affectionate admiration of all around you.'

It was not until another eighteen months had passed, after Mr Asquith's succession to the Premiership, that this tough veteran, the last of the old guard, who had been in Palmerston's Cabinet with the grandfather of Sir Edward Grey, now his colleague, and had as another colleague 'Loulou' Harcourt, who had often sat on his knee as a child, 'finally doffed his harness, not on account of age or infirmities, but of a difference of opinion which might have happened at any time.' It is a curious commentary upon the Liberal critics of Mr Lloyd

Digitized by Google

George's 'autocracy' and his supposed suppression of Government by Cabinet, that the reason for Lord Ripon's resignation, his refusal to identify himself with the action of Mr Asquith's Government in yielding to the inflammatory appeals of the Protestant Alliance, was for the first time made known to some members of Mr Asquith's Cabinet by reading in Lord Ripon's biography his letter of resignation to the Prime Minister of the day. Chivalrous and loyal to the last, Lord Ripon allowed Mr Asquith to state or imply as the true cause of his retirement the false reason of advancing age and failing health, leaving him to suffer in silence the adverse comments of the Roman Catholic world, rather than risk the danger to the Government—especially from their Irish supporters—if the true story had been revealed.

The sorrow that darkened the last two years of Lord Ripon's life was the loss of his wife. After fifty years of companionship—and never was the word better exemplified than in the relation of these two married people—Lady Ripon died. She was his closest friend and counsellor. Every conclusion, slowly and laboriously formed, every contemplated action, was first brought to her whose advice he never set aside. In spite of sickness and pain, from which she was never altogether free, her smiling eyes and charming voice were ready always to be placed at his service. Her sofa was a throne of grace. On one occasion, Auberon Herbert, her cousin, led his two beautiful curly-headed children, the late Lord Lucas and his sister, up to her sofa saying, 'We three are republicans, but you, dearest H. A. T., are our Queen.'

'Mr Gladstone and Lord Beaconsfield,' wrote Sir Arthur Helps from Hughenden, 'agreed in one thing, their admiration for Lady Ripon.' Her correspondence, if lacking in brilliancy, betrays in every line the sweetness of her character. From Rome in 1876 she wrote:

'I am supposed to be enjoying my travels wildly, and, if only I had a little less pain, I should do so, for I find to my surprise that age has not numbed my powers of appreciation of what to one appears beautiful, and I am as indifferent as ever to bad food, waiting at stations, travelling in the dark, and the hundred and one little things that put so many people out. . . . On Saturday Lord R. had an audience at the Vatican. The Pope was very gracious and said that his

Digitized by Google

conversion had cheered him up in his days of affliction. I have had a long talk with Archbishop Howard. He used to be a partner in the days of my youth. He looks so contented and prosperous while he talks of the *present terrible state of things*, but, as he says, going to Heaven is all that signifies. One understands his complacency without sharing his opinions. . . . I am very fond of Mrs Arthur Sidgwick. I only saw Henry Sidgwick at his brother's wedding, but, if he is as good a philosopher as speaker, Cambridge has reason to be proud of him indeed. I did not think the stammering a real drawback, and otherwise he was perfect.'

Many are the extracts from Lady Ripon's letters that could be quoted to show her fine discrimination, although she had no pretensions to style, and wrote upon impulse out of simple friendship. 'Lord Northbrook interests me (she says). He is so warm-hearted, and that cold sarcastic manner is merely a mask. I should think he was always haunted by the fear of being carried away by sentiment.' Of W. E. Forster she says, 'He is an overgrown baby who never had his fling when young'; and of Lord Ripon she wrote:

'We went to Rome this time last year. I think Goderich becomes happier every day. A life of rule is so soothing and attractive to his disposition. I sometimes think that if I were to die, he would be *tempted* to join some community; but he would not yield to the inclination, devoted as he is to the old *Duty to your neighbour* of the Catechism.'

Perhaps with some persistence in this train of thought she had urged Lord Ripon to visit once more Dr Newman, who was getting old and very frail. Lord Ripon spent two happy days at the Birmingham Oratory, the memory of which remained with him for the next thirty years of his life.

'I was more than charmed with the *great man*, as you justly call him, but it was on this occasion, just as it was when I saw him before, his wonderful simplicity which struck me most—a gentle modest simplicity which is more saintly than anything I have ever seen, though Father Douglas in Rome has a good deal of it. We were, I think, both shy at first (of course I was); but, as time went on, it wore off and we talked about all sorts of things and people charmingly. You see his intellectual power flashing out through his modesty

Digitized by Google

in a way unlike anything I have ever seen before, and sometimes the sparkle of an almost unconscious sarcasm, playful not malicious, but recalling many things in his writings. In all he said of others there was a wonderful gentleness and fairness, whether he spoke of Gladstone or Dr Pusey or whosoever it might be. He seems much older in the face than in his movements, which are singularly swift (that seems to me the appropriate word), and show the naturally eager temperament of the man. This morning I attended his Mass at seven and received Holy Communion from him.'

At this time, and throughout the two succeeding years (1878–9), the idea that he might again hold office was forming in Lord Ripon's mind. His aspiration and his consequent attitude towards the Liberal Party are well explained by his biographer. In all questions of domestic and foreign policy he took an active interest, and never lost a chance of urging his views upon the Liberal leaders. His mistrust and dislike of Palmerston in the days of early manhood were in middle life transferred to Lord Beaconsfield. His hatred of Disraeli was an unreasoning obsession, much as his hatred of Palmerston had been.

'I cannot doubt,' he wrote (1878), 'that Lord Beaconsfield has really unconstitutional theories and tendencies in the direction of the "Quarterly Review" article. I do not think that these theories have any hold on the country; and, when Lord B. is out of the way, he will have no successors in this part of his political teaching. But I fear the effect of it on the Queen and the Prince of Wales; Hartington and others may have to meet and overcome the evil consequences of these pernicious doctrines on Royal minds.'

There was no reason for alarm. Such reflexions and fears are the commonplaces of controversial politics. But Disraeli's mind, mystical, adventurous, and robust, could make no possible appeal to one who, however honest, as Mr Gladstone said of Jane Austen, 'neither dives nor soars.' Lord Ripon mistrusted alike the diver and the soarer. It was this mistrust that had led him from Frederick Maurice into the Roman fold. During the intervening years he had read much, and had faced the three questions that Kant said it was the business of philosophy to answer. To the inquiry, 'What can I

Digitized by Google

know? What ought I to do? For what can I hope?' he had found no reply other than the pontifical formulæ of the Catholic Church. Probability was for him no guide of life. He required the certainty which he could only find in Rome.

Having accepted the doctrines of the Catholic Church, he judged all things by her standards. He had moved away from the Radicalism of his youth, and moved towards the Whiggism of his parents. So much a Whig had he become that he would quote with approval Lord Acton's dictum that the danger is not that a particular class is unfit to govern; every class is unfit to govern. Like all Whigs, he had ceased to feel active doubt. Morals, politics, the world, were full of problems, but all were soluble by the application of a few simple rules. The mind's health, as well as the body's, lay in routine—a rule of life. He refused to believe that his countrymen, with whom he had always been on such excellent terms, caring for their welfare and working for it, would acquiesce in the conclusions of Mr Gladstone's pamphlets on the Vatican Decrees. To persecute him as a Catholic, and shut him out from the field in which he had worked all his life, could not happen, unless Mr Fox was right, and men persecute because they love persecution. And thus it came to pass, as his biographer asserts, that he set his heart on entering the next Liberal Cabinet. His diary is quoted, where he tells of the message sent through Lord Hartington's private secretary. In another's diary the following passage refers to the episode:

'A few days ago I showed Lord Ripon a list which, when I was at Chatsworth, Harcourt had made of candidates for office in the next Liberal Government. The following day Lady Ripon said Goderich was surprised at the omission of his name. I said I never supposed, nor did Harcourt, I felt sure, that Lord Ripon had office in view, having, when he became a Catholic, abandoned all idea of it. That evening after dinner, he called me to his room, and said that he wished me to know that his views of his eligibility for office, as a Catholic, were not what they were five years ago. His position in the country was stronger than it ever was before. . . . Lord Halifax, the only man with whom he had discussed the matter, was of opinion that he might

Digitized by Google

be included in the Cabinet notwithstanding his religion. Whether it would be wise of a Prime Minister to give him office he was not prepared to say; that would depend on circumstances; but he wished me to know that he did not consider himself, and he did not wish it to be assumed that he did consider himself, "out of the running."'

In the following spring (1880) he was Governor-General of India. He succeeded Lord Lytton, described by Lord Ripon's biographer as being 'in his dreams and his pose more Disraelian than his hated chief.' No one who ever knew Robert Lytton could connect him with 'pose' of any kind. It was true that he saw visions and dreamed dreams, delightful compound as he was of statesman and poet, of cultured mind and youthful heart. He may have inspired hatred in political opponents who never understood or knew him. Of those who were fortunate enough to be honoured with his friendship, most men and all women loved him. His Indian administration, like that of Lord Ripon afterwards, was bitterly criticised, according to the angle and prejudices of the critic. The hostility to Lytton's frontier policy was part of the stock-in-trade of the Liberal Opposition of the time. Ripon's frontier policy, as he found himself forced to admit, was a continuation, not a reversal, of that of his predecessor, although its sequence was adroitly concealed under the verbal repudiation common to all party manœuvres.

When General Gordon resigned the private secretaryship to which Lord Ripon had appointed him, making (as he owned) a 'bad selection,' that resignation was the direct consequence of the glimpse of 'self-seeking, jealousy, petty intrigue,' and insincere political manœuvre, of which he got many a proof on the way out. This Gordon told a young companion, Eugene Brett, who was A.D.C. to the Viceroy at the time; and he admitted it freely to Lord Ripon before they parted. For many months after he returned home, Gordon spent days and days at the India Office doing what he could to 'send out reinforcements to Baring'; for to Evelyn Baring, who had proceeded to India as Financial Member of Council, Gordon looked as the one man who would 'run straight,' if only he could be adequately supported against what he called the backstairs interests.

Digitized by Google

'Baring cannot stand with no one to support him,' was the burden of his warning.

'Now I think,' he wrote, 'it is very obvious why the Council may fear . . . [a certain "reinforcement"], for there is no doubt but that his presence, supporting Baring, would drive the other jingo lot out of the field. I do think that in justice to Baring he ought to have some one who you would know would assist him in his troubles.' And again, 'The Chinese Government have a system under which men who belong to the College of Censors go through the country and report on the deeds of the local authorities. These censors have a right to address the throne which cannot be questioned. . . . They are a wonderful lot, and often die in defence of their rights. . . . Well, to-day I *censored* Lord Northbrook, and told him it was *mean* not to send out reinforcements to Baring, who was surrounded by bores; that Baring was a man who, if he was not supported, would resign; that H.M.G. had put him there and ought to help him.'

Reinforcements, as Gordon called them, were sent. But there was no ground for pessimism. Lord Cromer, as he afterwards became, could take care of himself. Lord Ripon's biographer has not had access to the letters written home by Evelyn Baring during the many weeks when Lord Ripon lay at the point of death from an attack of typhoid fever, from which he was rescued by the skill and experience of his doctor, Jock Anderson, who remained Lord and Lady Ripon's lifelong friend and adviser. During that time, when the Government of India was nominally in other hands, its real director was Evelyn Baring, who, though only recently arrived, by his coolness, lofty intelligence, and stubborn character very soon found all the threads between his fingers. That later there were difficulties in the relations between Lord Ripon and his Finance Minister cannot be disputed; but, thanks to two generous minds that recognised the nature of each other's difficulties, they were adjusted. When the parting came, Lord Ripon admitted that the loss of Baring was serious, as 'they had got to understand each other thoroughly'; and he knew he could 'rely upon Baring absolutely in the hour of difficulty.'

The most characteristic portrait of Lord Ripon appears in the second volume of the biography. It was

Digitized by Google

taken in the garden at Studley by his almost adoptive son, 'Loulou,' the present Lord Harcourt. He is seated dressed in the suit of homespun which, if renewed in the course of years, showed no distinctive badge differentiating it from its predecessors, with the inevitable book open beside him. The attitude, the curious platform, which was intended as a preservation from damp and could be pushed or carried easily from point to point—the whole picture, in fact, is to the life. Short of stature, unstriking in feature, Lord Ripon could carry himself with dignity and effect. His utterance was clear, his voice somewhat rough, but he spoke in private and in public with ease, often with pathos, and with a sincerity that replaced eloquence. An optimist by temperament and conviction, it was from 'Prosperity Robinson' that he inherited this persistent buoyancy. But his simple faith in a Divine Power that was specially engaged in safeguarding his decisions had also much to do with it. Whether as a Freemason, or later as a Catholic, he never doubted the validity of his orders. He had no need to wrestle, like his great ancestor Cromwell, with troubling thoughts. Obedience came as easily to him as rebellion to more imaginative souls. Leadership, whether of the Pope or of Campbell-Bannerman, was one of the cardinal truths of life's battle. To follow worthily the preacher of a doctrine he believed to be true, or the chief of a political party which was his, was, as George Eliot, whom he read admiringly, had explained, as ennobling as leadership itself.

The home life of Lord Ripon was centred in Studley Royal. For centuries the monks of Fountains influenced the lives of the country folk who inhabited that stretch of Yorkshire from the cathedral town of Ripon to the weird rocks of Brimham, and to the fringe of the moors at Dallowgill. In what degree that influence is still operative is one of the unexplored secrets of history. All that apparently remains are the lovely arches of the Abbey, standing desolate below the wooded slopes from which, on winter days, high-flying pheasants were driven, immune except from the destructive skill of the son of the house. And what will remain in the coming years of the influence and charity, in its broad Greek sense, of Lord Ripon and his wife? What will remain of

Digitized by Google

the memory of their son Oliver, whose relation to his mother was so loverlike and intimate, and of his wife, Sidney Herbert's daughter, so beautiful, so brilliant, and so beloved? To recall them all there is not even a ruined arch.

England is far behind France in the recorded story of her people's lives. When English muniment rooms are ransacked, the searchers are apt to select documents that bear upon events inaptly called public, and to place aside those that refer to more intimate things. In France an acuter sense of relative values obtains. And yet Littré regretted that every family, however humble, had not preserved its archives and some record of its moral history. Unfortunately, politics and war have absorbed an undue share of attention in the written history of mankind. In a noble passage a writer of the 19th century speaks of the great river courses which have shaped the lives of men, as having hardly changed; while even those lesser streams, the life-currents that ebb and flow in human hearts, still pulsate to the same needs, the same loves and terrors. Even so; even if there is a broad sameness of the human lot which never alters in the main headings of its history—hunger and labour, seed-time and harvest—there are variations of poignant interest to the artist, the poet, and the historian.

So far, it is to the novelist and not to the biographer that the wise reader looks for a picture of life as it really is. A truer appreciation of the function of biography would subordinate the recital of events to environment, would place, even before achievements, a man's hopes formed in youth, their realisation or shattering in after-years, and would record the every-day life of a man and a woman, amid those common things which, after all, are the only setting in which character is formed or blasted.

ESHER.

Digitized by Google

Art. 2.—NAPOLEON AND THE BRITISH NAVY AFTER TRAFALGAR.*

SEEING that it is hoped to revive the project of founding in the University of London a School of Naval History —a project which the late war held up—it seems appropriate on this occasion to select for the Creighton Lecture a subject which would indicate how much remains for such a school to do. Judged by the standards of modern historical scholarship, naval history between Trafalgar and Waterloo is a trackless desert. There are many other periods that have been no better worked, but the one we are about to consider probably surpasses all others in importance and instruction. So much may be said with confidence, not only because it is nearest to our own times, but also because of its striking analogy to the history we have recently been living. For a great part of the period it turned on a mortal commercial struggle, the issue of which for many exhausting years hung in the balance. This is but one of the analogies of which I have spoken, but I place it foremost for the sake of emphasising a special aim in the scheme it is hoped to inaugurate.

In defining the scope of the proposed School of Naval History it was never the idea that it should be concerned only with the operations of the Royal Navy. The word 'Naval' was intended to connote the whole activities of our life at sea. We already knew enough to appreciate that the successes of the Royal Navy owed much to the correlative enterprise of our oversea merchants and our mercantile Marine. I need hardly tell how the experiences of our last war have deepened, illuminated, and intensified that impression. Here then is a further reason for the choice of my subject. Never perhaps were the resourcefulness, enterprise, and courage of our mercantile community a weightier factor in a great war than when they found themselves face to face with Napoleon's colossal system for boycotting our trade. Yet it is still the obscurest and least studied part of the story. It is the more to be regretted, for a main reason

* The Creighton Memorial Lecture, delivered on Oct. 11, 1921, at King's College, London.

Digitized by Google

why Naval History has become so much a close borough, in which the general historian seldom ventures to tread, is undoubtedly that our trade history has been so much divorced from Naval History. Yet in truth each must remain obscure out of the light of the other. They are, in fact, twins which can never be quite happy apart.

This is but one of the still dark aspects of my subject, and there are so many others that it is difficult to deal, even in outline, with all the accepted views which cry most loudly for revision. From Trafalgar to Waterloo is nearly ten years—obviously too big a canvas for one short lecture. I would, therefore, ask your main attention to the period following Nelson's victory, the period in which, after the Third Coalition collapsed, we were left to carry on the world-war practically alone.

Looked at from the purely military point of view (the only one, except perhaps the diplomatic, from which it has been studied) the course of the war seems to have violated all sound doctrine. Thus seen, it is a series of sporadic and apparently unrelated efforts in which our small army was used in driblets nearly all over the world with no consistent policy. No concentration of effort is visible anywhere; so that, in contrast with the justly admired conduct of the great military and political leader who was opposed to us, it all looks like amateurish child's play, and, as such, it is often dismissed with contempt. Yet it was this child's play that won, and won, as it seems, miraculously. For half the period which extended from the downfall of the Third Coalition to Elba, we had, practically single-handed, to face one of the greatest masters of war the world has ever seen, with nearly the whole of Europe at his back in subjection or alliance. Yet we survived in such vigour that we were in due time able to revive and in a great measure to finance the last Coalition, which finally brought our great adversary to his knees.

How was it done, if all sound war doctrine was violated? Where the facts have been so imperfectly studied it would be idle to attempt a final judgment. But clearly revision is needed; and all I would endeavour to indicate is the line on which revision could proceed. It is not without hesitation that I do so. It is difficult to offer an apologia for the Government of the time

Digitized by Google

without seeming to trench on the sanctity of a cardinal military principle; I mean the principle of concentrating the utmost possible force against the main strength of the enemy. So valuable and even sacred is this article of faith that even to seem to question its applicability to all possible conditions of war is to raise at once a cry of heresy. But here lies encouragement to proceed. A charge of heresy connotes the existence of dogma; and, of all diseases from which strategical thought can suffer, dogma is the most fatal. When dogma steals in at the door, reason flies out of the window. Principle always has a tendency to ossify into dogma; and, at the first symptom of such degradation being on foot, the application of a little historical massage may safely be prescribed.

On this occasion I would begin the treatment by quoting two dicta, one mediæval with an almost devotional note, the other modern, practical and coldly scientific. The first is from 'The Libel of English Policy' written in 1436—

> 'Kepe well the sea that is the wall of England,
> And then is England kept by Goddes hand.'

The second is from Colonel Henderson, than whom, as a writer on war, I believe no higher authority exists in this country. In his 'Science of War' he lays down what he calls 'the great maxim that the naval strength of the enemy should be the first objective of the forces of a maritime Power, both by land and sea.' If now, without accepting this maxim as gospel, we apply it as a working hypothesis to the apparently confused conduct of the war, we find British policy assuming a very different aspect. We have at once a thread which binds the sporadic incidents into a consistent whole; and, in place of haphazard adventures, we get the impression of a concentration of effort in what proved to be at least one of the decisive theatres of the war.

To this view I can well imagine quick objection taken. Why, it may be asked, devote our slender army to assisting the navy to secure the command of the sea when we had already won it at Trafalgar? The objection is natural enough. So brilliant was the triumph in which the greatest Admiral of all time came to his end,

Digitized by Google

that the dramatic sense of the historian almost compels him to ring down the curtain there and then. Even Mahan, for all his philosophic outlook, could not resist the temptation. It is on his works that intelligent appreciation of our sea-story mainly rests; and he stopped short at Trafalgar, as though it had finally shattered Napoleon's sea-power.

But did it? This was certainly not Napoleon's view. The Franco-Spanish fleet of Villeneuve, though stricken to impotency, was not destroyed. It was materially capable of regeneration. Napoleon had other fleets and squadrons undefeated. Other of his Allies, besides Spain, had ships, and certain weak neutrals had more. He was soon at work on schemes to restore his naval power out of these scattered elements; and we still have his minute calculations, culminating in that of 1808, which showed over 130 sail of the line within his reach for the next year. That the pictures he formed year by year were sanguine is not to be denied. But we ourselves, to judge at least by our building programmes, were scarcely less sensitive to the possibilities which Trafalgar had left open. In 1806 we had building or ordered 26 ships of the line. In 1807 the figure rose to 36. In the two following years it was as high as 48 and 47. Then it slowly fell, but it was not till 1812 that it was down again to 30. The cruiser programme was no less significant.

For Napoleon his dream was undoubtedly a real possibility. Nothing indeed gives a stronger impression of the abounding resource and energy of the man than to follow in his correspondence the little-known story of his untiring efforts to restore his navy. As from year to year the struggle grew more bitter, every port over which he had any influence, from Venice round to the Texel, was set to work on new construction and incessantly spurred to increased activity. Millions were lavished on building new dockyards, extending old ones, and increasing their defences. All Europe was ransacked for materials, labour, and crews. Performance always lagged behind his hopes; and yet enough was done to force us to counter with the fullest strain that our own yards and man-power would bear. I need hardly remind you that it was our desperate straits to

Digitized by Google

find crews that was the immediate cause of bringing America into the war against us. Once, it is true, Napoleon had his doubts. In the exhausting winter of 1806 he ordered Decrès, his Minister of Marine, to form a number of battalions from his seamen and dockyard-hands, telling him, 'I mean to reconquer my colonies on land.' But his determination to revive his navy soon returned, and the might of his personality was such that anything he thought possible we could not ignore. And so it was that, for years after Trafalgar, our navy and our army were absorbed in action to prevent Napoleon's dream being realised.

Together they did prevent it, but the curious thing is that there is scarcely one of the operations of that long struggle which either Service cares to dwell upon. Copenhagen, Walcheren, the Basque Roads, the Portugal expedition which ended in the Convention of Cintra—we regard them all as failures or something to be ashamed of. Similarly, too, the other class of combined expeditions—those against the colonies of France and her subject Allies. Judged by strict military dogma, they involved an heretical dispersal of strength away from the main forces of the enemy. But, judged as a means of securing our sea-power, they fall into place with the European enterprises as part of the great concentration of effort. When, within a year of Trafalgar, Napoleon's raiding squadrons were driven from the sea, there still remained the privateers acting from oversea bases; and, for all our cruisers could do, they remained a thorn in the side of our trade till the bases from which they worked were in our hands. Over and above this necessity for the vitality of our sea-power was the need for new markets and new sources of supply, in place of those of which Napoleon was depriving us.

To express the whole situation diagrammatically, we may say that Napoleon's policy, after he found it impossible to strike us a decisive blow by invasion, was to exhaust us by shutting out our trade from Europe; and by forcing on us simultaneously heavy naval expenditure by the menace of reviving his fleets. Our reply was to capture new markets, and to destroy the elements of his new navy in its ports by combined operations. It is at least possible to argue that our

Digitized by Google

policy of using the army in this way was correct. That your utmost military strength should be concentrated upon the decisive military theatre is a principle not to be gainsaid, provided always your utmost strength is great enough to give hope of a decision. But no theatre can be called a decisive theatre if a decision in it is beyond your strength. And what at this time was our utmost strength compared with the vast hosts which our enemy could marshal against it? For us there was no decisive theatre anywhere within reach of the enemy's main forces, except the sea.

This was the first factor in the problem that Ministers had to solve. The second was that, so long as we maintained our dominant position at sea, Napoleon could not strike a decisive blow against us. The outlook, then, which they had to face was a war of exhaustion, at all events until future developments gave our diplomacy the means of reviving the Coalition. But when, after Austerlitz, Pitt rolled up the map of Europe, that was a remote, almost hopeless prospect. In any case the war must be long, and the side that could endure the longest would be the side to win. How, then, could our small army have been more profitably used than working hand-in-hand with the navy to prevent Napoleon from ever being able to strike the decisive blow, and by protecting and fostering our trade to give us the means of endurance?

Now, so far as time permits, I would ask your attention to points where the current view of the joint enterprises seems to need revision, and particularly to those which were aimed at keeping the country out of danger of a decisive blow. To visualise the problem more clearly, one cardinal fact in Napoleon's naval policy must be kept always in view. His chief hopes of restoring his navy lay in the North Sea. Brest, which had been the main dockyard of his predecessors, was so far removed from the sources of ship-building material, and its communications were so bad, that he quickly realised it could not be relied on. His sagacious grip of realities turned his mind to the north. The resources of Scandinavia and Northern Germany were essential to his purpose. Within reach of them must be his dockyard; and so he quickly set about creating in the Scheld a

Digitized by Google

substitute for Brest. On Antwerp and Flushing he began at once to spend the bulk of his energy as a cradle for his new fleet; and Denmark and Sweden were marked down to provide the ships which he could not hope to build himself. This dominant fact the British Government, always acutely sensitive to naval developments north of the Dover defile, was of course quick to grasp; and in it lies the justification, or at least the explanation, of the policy which it promptly inaugurated.

The first round of the new contest was the Copenhagen expedition of 1807, but this was not actually the first instance of using the army for a definite naval object. That had been done in 1805, when Sir James Craig's little expedition was sent to the Mediterranean. Its object was to prevent Napoleon's occupation of Italy spreading to Sicily; for, with Sicily in the enemy's hands, we could not at that time maintain our hold on the Mediterranean, and, if that hold was lost, not only would our vital Levant trade go with it, but Napoleon would be free to develop his fondest ambitions in the East. Slender as was the force employed, it succeeded. To quote Colonel Henderson again: 'An army supported by an invincible navy possesses a strength which is out of all proportion to its size . . . if intelligently directed.' It was a truth Napoleon was slow to recognise. He could not understand why the tide of his conquests was held up at the Straits of Messina. Again and again he angrily urged his brother to make an end of the puny obstruction. But Joseph could not even take Reggio on the Italian side. The Emperor lost his temper. 'That damned rock,' he wrote, 'is thwarting all my plans.' But it was not the rock. It was something else, which his genius could not or would not grasp. When the rock fell the barrier still stood firm.

It was in the initial phase, with this success to their credit, that Ministers resolved to use our 'disposal force,' as it was called—that is, the force they were organising out of the surplus not thought necessary for home defence—to save the Coalition from utter collapse after Jena. The idea was that it should operate from the Baltic against Napoleon's line of communications to stop his alarming advance against Russia, and encourage the

Digitized by Google

Swedes and Prussians to hold out. The island of Rügen, in Swedish Pomerania, was to be its base; and there, early in July 1807, Lord Cathcart arrived with some 30,000 men. But it was too late. Before the rest of the expedition was ready to sail, the Tsar had signed the Treaty of Tilsit; and, save for Sweden, we were alone.

The naval danger was now acute. Under the Treaty of Tilsit the Continental System was inaugurated. By its secret articles Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, and Austria were to be compelled to adhere to it and enforce it with their fleets. Besides 17 sail of line, on which Napoleon could count in Dutch ports, the Swedes had 11, the Danes 16, and the Russians 60. On the Holstein frontier was Bernadotte with an army of 70,000 men, ready to coerce Denmark if she held back. I need hardly dwell on the gravity of the crisis. It meant not only the prospect of a formidable naval force based north of the Dover defile, which would render possible a descent upon Scotland or upon Ireland north-about, but it also meant our complete exclusion from the Baltic, the main source from which came our naval stores.

If there had been regrettable delay in preparing the Rügen expedition, there was none now. Never perhaps did our Government act with greater decision, speed, or secrecy. The Treaty of Tilsit was signed on July 9, 1807. On July 22 Canning heard directly from Tilsit of the intended maritime league against Great Britain, and was informed that Napoleon regarded the accession of Denmark as essential. With Bernadotte's army on the Danish frontier, there could be no doubt what this meant; and our Government saw that to forestall Napoleon was the only way to baffle his deadly plot. Invidious as was the high-handed action, a neutral unable to assert its neutrality must not become a tool in the enemy's hand. On what day the desperate decision was taken is not certain. On July 18 and 19 the Government had warned the Senior Naval Officer in the Baltic and also General Cathcart of their intention to ask Denmark to declare herself, and to back the demand by force. But when, on July 21, the orders of the Naval Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Gambier, were signed, they contained nothing about Copenhagen. His

Digitized by Google

instructions were merely to defend Sweden, to protect trade, and reinforce Cathcart; but, as he was Senior Naval Lord of the Admiralty, he was probably in the secret. Next day the news from Tilsit must have removed all doubt; on the 27th sailing orders were issued for the troops to proceed to Copenhagen.

To appreciate fully the dexterous handling of our disposal force in combination with the North-Sea Fleet, we should have to follow in detail its rapid and well-organised movements. Here it must suffice to say that Napoleon was outwitted and out-manœuvred. So little did he fathom the secret that, though Bernadotte was pressing for marching-orders, it was not till the last day of July that the Emperor called upon Denmark to make her choice. Next day the first echelon of our troops arrived. It was not till a week later that he heard of the expedition, and even then he did not divine its object. The orders he gave were for a concentration at Rügen and Emden; and though, owing to bad weather delaying the landing, Copenhagen did not capitulate till Sept. 6, he was powerless to save it and its precious fleet.

Every admirer of Napoleon must sympathise with his mortification. On July 4, three days before the Treaty of Tilsit was a certainty, he wrote to Decrès, urging him to speed up the new construction he had ordered, and he added, 'Everything points to the Continental war being at an end. Our whole effort must now be thrown on the naval side.' That was the form the great struggle was now to take; and we had got in the first blow. In the full radiance of his new triumph he had been caught napping; his new system, on which he relied to bring the enemy to submission, had received a deep wound before it was born. He could do nothing to heal it; and all his vexation was concentrated in a propaganda—such as we now understand so well—to brand us as ruthless oppressors of neutrals and international outlaws. He had made all preparations to do what we had done, but we had been too quick for him; and that was the unpardonable sin. So the propaganda spread; and not only did it fix Continental opinion for a century, but, curiously enough, it sank so deep into the ears of our historians that to this day they

Digitized by Google

can only approach the exploit with shame-faced apologies. It is always treated with blushes as an easy victory over little, unsuspecting Denmark. The world has forgotten that it was a very difficult victory over the great, unsuspecting Napoleon.

Our activity did not end with the capture of the Danish fleet and keeping the Baltic open. Mercantile enterprise had also played its part. No sooner was the boycott project known than our merchants set about making a hole in it for themselves. Smuggling was then a fine art. There was little they did not know about it. All they required was a base of operations in some no-man's land. Denmark had declared war, and the Danish island of Heligoland was ideal for the purpose; and at their suggestion it was seized by a naval force the day before Copenhagen capitulated. Thus they established a smuggling station. The tale of what went on there I cannot tell. It is one of the points that still await research, but Napoleon's constant complaint of the increasing leak that continued to exist in its vicinity suggests that research would be amply repaid. We know at least that three years later the leak had grown so serious that Napoleon had to order the entrances of the Jahde, Weser, and Elbe to be fortified, and each provided with a flotilla to stop the Heligoland smuggling. He was also asking Decrès if a ship of the line could not be stationed at Cuxhaven, and was calling for a plan for taking the obnoxious island with a cruiser squadron entering the North Sea north-about and combining with the Cuxhaven flotilla.

The rest of the story in the North is how De Saumarez held the Baltic till the danger passed. That was when Russia broke away from the Continental System at the urgent entreaty of her impoverished merchants. It is a page of our naval history too little known and still inadequately studied. Besides De Saumarez's own remarkable exploits and even more remarkable diplomacy, there is the mercantile enterprise that he made possible. In the Baltic, too, smuggling stations were established, and their story still remains to be unravelled. We only know what came of it from a graphic glimpse at the time, when in 1810 Bernadotte passed into Sweden as Crown Prince

Digitized by Google

elect. On reaching the Belt he found De Saumarez there in the 'Victory,' and had to ask his leave to cross over to his prospective kingdom. It was given, and he passed on with unconcealed admiration through a British homeward-bound convoy of over 1000 merchantmen. I am not suggesting for a moment that we did not feel the Continental System severely for a time. No one, I believe, at this moment could speak with confidence as to how far it affected our trade and finance. All I would say is that knowledge of it has been mainly the province of international lawyers. Of its commercial effects, the methods by which our merchants fought it under cover of the navy, the extent of their success, we have as yet but glimpses. The whole story is yet to be told.

To return to the general policy of the Government, the intention was to follow up Copenhagen with an attack on the Scheld with the disposal force under Lord Wellesley, in order to secure the Franco-Dutch fleet and dockyards to which Napoleon was devoting ever-increasing exertions at Antwerp and Flushing; and this again was to be succeeded by an attack on Cadiz to deal with what Trafalgar had left of Villeneuve's fleet. But it was not to be. In any case, it was too near the well-known season of Walcheren fever for Flushing to be attempted so late in the year; but the real cause of the interruption of our programme was the direct outcome of Napoleon's active reply to Copenhagen.

Foiled in the Baltic, he turned with one of his characteristic and formidable changes of front to the Mediterranean; and there sprang up in his unteachable brain another of those naval combinations which, however impracticable we may have learned to regard them, compel our admiration of his indomitable spirit. Whatever we may now think of them, they were then formidable enough to call for our utmost energy to defeat them. His first step was to order Marshal Junot, who had been concentrating an army for the purpose at Bayonne, to march on Lisbon in order to seize the Portuguese fleet and the Tagus. As a naval base, the Tagus was far too valuable to be allowed to fall into the enemy's hands. An attempt to save it with a combined force was imperative; and for this reason all idea of

Digitized by Google

attempting the fleets in the Scheld and Cadiz had to be given up for the present.

Portugal was then neutral; and we had before us the unpleasant prospect of another edition of Copenhagen. But diplomacy found a way out. We offered, if Napoleon's demands were refused, to escort the Court and fleet to Brazil, and to send a military force to cover the departure. This offer, after much difficulty, was accepted; and finally, on Nov. 29, when Junot was was already in sight of the city, the withdrawal was effected, and twelve ships of war, on which Napoleon had counted, were lost to him. But the Tagus had to be given up to Junot, and in it a Russian squadron of nine ships of the line. This squadron, until the Treaty of Tilsit was signed, had been operating under Seniavin with our own squadron at the Dardanelles, and had slipped into Lisbon on its way to the Baltic for fear of the British fleet. There we had to blockade it till the coming of the expedition with which we hoped to restore the situation. The task proved easier than we anticipated. Both Spain and Portugal were soon in a state of revolt. The end of the episode was the beginning of the Peninsular War, when on Aug. 30, 1808, the Convention of Cintra gave us our old base in the Tagus, and removed Seniavin's squadron into a British port for the duration of war.

But, after all, this was but a part of Napoleon's plan for doing in the Mediterranean what he had failed to do in the Baltic. His idea was in effect an elaborate combination of military and naval force for surprising Sicily and thereby depriving us of the power to maintain a fleet within the Straits. Three or four armies were to be thrown against the island simultaneously from Calabria, Naples, Toulon, and possibly Corfu, which was now his, and which we were blockading. They were to move under cover of a naval concentration which was first intended to be in the Tagus, but, when under pressure of our fleet and diplomacy Portugal proved obstructive, was to be made in the Mediterranean. There were to meet Allemand from Rochefort, Rosily from Cadiz, Ganteaume from Toulon, and a Spanish squadron from Cartagena; the whole to be covered by a revival of the invasion threat from Boulogne and Napoleon's other flotilla

Digitized by Google

ports. To the success of this design the whole force of his genius was directed. 'Sicily,' he told his brother Joseph, in trying to inflame him with his own fire, 'Sicily is the most important point in the world.' For him Sicily, in fact, was the decisive theatre; but the plan failed, for the naval concentration broke down. Only Allemand and Ganteaume succeeded in meeting; and all they did was to relieve Corfu. Collingwood was rigidly guarding Sicily, and only by a hair's breadth did they escape him. But they did get away back to Toulon; and the failure to intercept them broke poor Collingwood's heart. But his vigilance had saved 'the most important point in the world'; and the revolt of Spain then put it beyond Napoleon's power to revive his plan. A further consequence for ourselves was that a combined expedition against Cadiz was no longer required. On June 14, ten days after the Provisional Government at Seville had declared war on France, Rosily, who was blockaded by a British squadron of ten ships of the line, surrendered to the Spaniards.

Rapidly as the elements on which Napoleon based his hope of regaining his sea-power were falling away, his high resolution was undefeated. Plan after plan came from his fertile brain. According to one scheme, which involved an entirely new combination, Ganteaume, starting from Toulon, was to open all the blockaded Atlantic ports in succession, and then to proceed to the Channel—if possible to the Scheld—and there cover a new attempt to invade by means of the restored Boulogne flotilla and two expeditionary forces from the Texel and Flushing. It is hardly possible that Napoleon really believed such a plan to be practicable. His idea most probably was only to intimidate and exhaust us till his new fleet was ready.

In this year (1808) he was calculating, with new constructions, to see 130 of the line at his disposal in 1809. It was the year 1809, moreover, that saw the last of his sanguine naval combinations, a slightly varied repetition of what he had attempted in the year of Trafalgar. All his remaining squadrons were to meet in the West Indies or Brazil; but the plan had even less success than its prototype. The Brest squadron alone was able to break out, and it was so hotly pressed that it had to take refuge

Digitized by Google

in the Basque Roads. What happened to it there—the story of Cochrane's explosion vessels—is well known. It remains in our history as a failure, because Gambier, who had managed well enough at Copenhagen, shrank at the last moment from going in to complete what the explosion vessels had only half done. But in French history it survives as a crushing defeat. Allemand, the only Admiral besides Ganteaume in whom Napoleon now had any faith, had been summoned from Toulon to organise the defence. So drastic were his methods that he completely gutted both ships and dockyard to construct his booms and other defences; and the result was that the squadron could never be made fit for service again.

There now remained to Napoleon little more than his Toulon and Antwerp squadrons. From that of Toulon we had nothing to fear. With our hold on Sicily secure, and Minorca and other Spanish ports at our disposal, we held it in a vice. But Antwerp was another matter. The squadron there now consisted of twenty good sail of the line, with several more in course of construction; and, so long as it existed, we were forced to provide against the possibility of a descent on our northern coasts. If we were to be free for offensive operations in support of our new Allies and to concentrate with them against the armed forces of the enemy, the eradication of the menace was a necessary preliminary, and it could not be done without the army. But was it now justifiable to use our disposal force to stamp out the last spark of Napoleon's naval hopes? Conditions had changed. We were no longer single-handed. In Spain we had an ally and a theatre for promising military operations. Austria too had once more taken the field. Should we not rather have reverted to orthodox methods against the enemy's army? That question is the question of Walcheren.

The Walcheren episode is a *locus classicus*. It was the largest combined expedition we had ever organised, and it is the one most consistently ridiculed. Yet Colonel Henderson could say that, though it failed, it was, on his principle of the naval strength of the enemy being the first objective of both our land and our sea forces, 'a strategical stroke of the highest order.' But was it entirely a failure, and was it undertaken on the principle

Digitized by Google

he lays down? In naval opinion the squadron was certainly the objective. But military and political opinion seem to have been swayed by more far-reaching aims. Napoleon was denuding France and all his western front of troops to deal rapidly with Austria; a stream of intelligence told of growing antipathy to his domination in all quarters; and there is little doubt that the surprise of the port on which his main hopes rested would have produced a moral shock to his prestige that was worth a big effort and no little risk.

Although the majority of our narratives, whose main authority appears to have been the opposition Press of the time, assert the contrary, it *was* a surprise. French contemporary evidence, and particularly the correspondence between Decrès and General Clarke at the War Office, leave no doubt about the matter. They, of course, knew that an expedition was preparing and were watching it anxiously, but what its objective was they could not make out. In turn their conjectures varied as widely as from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. Rochefort, Brest, the Scheld, Kronstadt—each in turn seemed indicated as the most likely guess, but the Scheld was never high in the betting, and nothing was done to guard it. Decrès' last word to Napoleon, just before the expedition sailed, was that he could not tell its objective, but had little doubt it was in the north. Even when he got by telegraph news that our troops were landing in force, he was not believed and Clarke did nothing. A week elapsed before the startling information reached Napoleon at Schönbrunn; and it was not till Aug. 7, two days after Wagram, that, at three o'clock in the morning, he drafted orders for Bernadotte to hurry to the scene of danger and take command by land and sea. Ten days more went by before Bernadotte reached Antwerp; and then it was to find everything in chaos and Flushing in our hands.

For nearly three weeks Antwerp lay at our mercy; and the primary cause of the failure was not military but naval. A sudden break in the weather prevented the landing of troops to seize Cadsand on the south bank of the river; and that was the first stage of the plan of operations. The result was that the ships could not go in as intended till Flushing had been reduced, and the

Digitized by Google

transports had to seek refuge from the gale in the East Scheld instead of proceeding direct to the head of the main estuary. But for that unlucky flaw of bad weather, Antwerp would have been an easy prey, as Napoleon well knew and afterwards confessed. During the past twelve months the defences of his new port had been a continual source of anxiety. About Cadsand he was particularly anxious. 'In all my Empire,' he wrote to Decrès, 'this is the weakest point, and the only one at which it is possible to deal me a blow.' Decrès was to do his best to provide a force for its protection, but no troops could be kept there permanently because of the fever. The gale gave time for its defences to be occupied, and Flushing had to be reduced before the troops could enter the river. The delay proved fatal and very costly in precious lives.

Still, had the chief commanders shown the energy and accepted the risks that Keats and Hope did in their brilliant seizure of South Beveland, all might have been well. So near, indeed, did it come to complete success, so well laid was the elaborate plan, that even the failure gave Napoleon an acute attack of nerves. A few days after he heard of the fall of Flushing he sent a peremptory order to his Director of Conscription, telling him he must organise a force of 500,000 of the National Guard permanently in seven armies. Otherwise all the French armies will be consumed in defending the coasts. 'With 300 sail of transports,' he wrote, 'and 50,000 men in the Downs, England can paralyse 300,000 of our troops, and will reduce us to the rank of a second-class Power.' We need not take him too seriously, but his outburst reads significantly beside his previous gibes at our sporadic expeditions as 'the combinations of pygmies.'

There is no doubt that, even after the first shock had passed, he felt the blow keenly. The Scheld was the centre of his naval hopes; but without Flushing, where, before leaving, we had completely destroyed the port and arsenal, Antwerp, for technical reasons, was of little value either as a base or a dockyard. It was for this reason Napoleon seized the place after Trafalgar, and continued to lavish care and treasure upon it. In the budget of this year he had allotted a million to the

Digitized by Google

Scheld, half of which was for Flushing. As soon as he knew we were evacuating Walcheren, he issued a decree for forming a new large basin at Antwerp and for reconstructing the demolished port of Flushing. For a time he still kept up his heart. The naval budget for 1810 was 110 millions; and Decrès was expected to have over 100 ships of the line by 1812. After this his note lowered. In 1811 he still kept urging Decrès to press on his programme, and issued orders for conscripting dock labourers. But his resources were not equal to the strain. All he could hope now was for 100 ships of the line and 200 frigates in four years' time, with which he would wrest from England her supremacy at sea. That we may take as his naval swan-song. Before those four years were out he was in Elba. Indeed, the policy we had been pursuing had been so effective that, after Walcheren, our fleet was able to devote its main energy for the rest of the war to supporting the army in the Peninsula. To that the Admiralty gave its chief attention, and so made full return for what the army had done for the navy. The fleet henceforth was made subordinate to the army, its nurse and handmaid, as Wellington handsomely confessed when he learned how much it had done for him.

The extent of the Admiralty effort has never been worked out; and here undoubtedly is further need for revision. The current belief that Wellington's communications were not safe rests mainly on complaints he made when, after Vittoria, he suddenly changed his base from Lisbon to the awkward little port of Passages on the north coast. But the complaint was unjustified; it rested on inaccurate information. When the Admiralty inquired into the matter it was found that during the months of August, September, and October of 1813—the period of the loudest complaint and the greatest throng of transport traffic—only two ships had been captured, one of which had apparently strayed from her convoy, while the other had been snapped up by an American privateer. That there had been a short period of insecurity is true, but it was because secrecy was so vital to Wellington's brilliant movement which culminated at Vittoria, that he had refrained from telling the Admiralty or the Commander-in-Chief of the change of the base

Digitized by Google

which it would entail. Consequently the whole patrol system was thrown out of gear and could not be re-arranged in a moment. When all this was fully explained to Wellington, his tone completely changed. 'If any one,' he said in thanking Admiral Martin, 'wishes to know the history of this war, I will tell him our maritime superiority gives me the power of maintaining my communications while the enemy is unable to do so'—a remark which gives a very different colour to the current impression.

Many other points in the naval story of the Peninsular War call equally for deeper study, but here I must conclude the crude sketch which is all I have been able to attempt. It has been well said that current history—the history we have lived ourselves—is as illuminating for past history as is past history for enriching the experience of our own days. It is certainly true of the vivid, almost dazzling light with which the last years of the late war flood the period of my lecture. Seen in the new light, it looks as though nearly every current belief about the later exhausting years of our struggle with Napoleon needs modification—even the cardinal belief, the effect of Trafalgar. Going even lightly over the ground, its striking analogy to our latest struggle brings forth a whole harvest of unsettled queries; and the one which for me at least is the most insistent is this: What material advantage did Trafalgar give that Jutland did not give? It is one that, in the present state of our knowledge, I will not venture to answer.

JULIAN S. CORBETT.

Digitized by Google

Art. 8.—THE RESIGNATION OF BISMARCK.

1. *Gedanken und Erinnerungen von Otto Fürst von Bismarck.* Drittes Bande. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1919.
   *New Chapters of Bismarck's Autobiography.** Translated by Bernard Miall. Hodder and Stoughton, 1920.
2. *Fürst Bismarcks Entlassung. Nach den hinterlassenen, bisher unveröffentlichten Aufzeichnungen des Staatssekretärs des Innern, Dr Karl Heinrich von Boetticher, und des Chefs der Reichskanzlei unter dem Fürsten Bismarck, Dr Franz von Rottenburg.* Herausg. von Dr Georg von Eppstein. Berlin: Scherl, 1920.
3. *Der neue Kurs: Um den Kaiser: Der missverstandene Bismarck.* By Otto Hammann. Three vols. Berlin: Reimar Hobbing, 1918–1921.

THE subject of the resignation or dismissal of Bismarck in March 1890 has been revived by the long-delayed publication of the third volume of his 'Reflexions and Reminiscences.' The volume has disappointed German readers because it does not contain much that is new regarding the events which preceded the rupture between the Chancellor and his young master, a good deal of what it does contain having already been published in other forms. The chief interest of the volume, apart from its fresh revelation of Bismarck's own character and later aims, lies in the publication of letters from Prince William, as he then was, to Bismarck in 1887 and the early months of 1888, and of a letter in September 1886, from the Crown Prince Frederick William (afterwards the Emperor Frederick) on the faults of Prince William's character, and the inadvisability of allowing him to occupy himself at that stage, even by way of education, with the affairs of the German Foreign Office.

The crisis in the history of the Hohenzollern, or, as it might more truly be called, the Bismarckian, Empire, which came in the spring of 1890, has not invariably been estimated at its true significance. It was not so much the removal of Bismarck from the conduct of German affairs that was decisive. This must soon have happened in any case; Bismarck was seventy-five and

* There are so many errors in this translation that the writer of this article would refer those of his readers who know German to the original.

Digitized by Google

in a parlous state of nerves, if not of general health. It was the emancipation of the young Emperor from the only control of which he had stood in awe that changed everything; it was the beginning of the personal regime and all that it implied—waywardness, impulsiveness, ill-regulated ambition, theatricality, and, it must be added, frequent offensiveness in the conduct of German policy both domestic and foreign. Added to this, there was from April 1890 down to the year of Bismarck's death (1898), the constant criticism in newspapers and periodicals of the 'New Course' by the 'hermit of Friedrichsruh,' in a vein to which personal rancour imparted a malignity that warped, even where it did not entirely neutralise, the experienced wisdom of the critic. The consequences of the rupture were to expose William II without 'ministerial draperies' to the public view, and to make him for years the butt of Bismarck and of the Bismarckian *fronde*. This led to exasperation and intensified the evils which Bismarckian and pseudo-Bismarckian criticism professed to aim at curing.

Fresh light has been thrown upon the crisis itself by the publication of the Memoirs of von Boetticher, Bismarck's faithful henchman from 1880 to his official end, and by Dr Hammann's two important books, 'Der neue Kurs' and 'Der missverstandene Bismarck.' It was not merely the incompatibility of 'crabbed age and youth,' nor was it any fundamental divergence of views, at least in the realm of foreign policy, that led to the rupture. It was largely what Hammann calls in another connexion 'die unpersönliche Tölpelhaftigkeit im Geschehen,' the fatuous way in which things happen and conspire, as it were, to subvert the best personal intentions of those whose business it is to co-operate closely in matters of the highest moment.

The characters of the two protagonists and the angles from which they approached their common task of government and policy were no doubt widely different. Yet both might have seemed to be qualified at the outset to overcome these differences—Bismarck by long experience and the faculty of dealing with men and monarchs, and William II by the real veneration which he entertained for the great Chancellor and by his determination up to the last and supreme provocation—Boetticher's

Digitized by Google

testimony brings this out—to bear all things from a servant of his grandfather and of his father whom he regarded at that time as almost indispensable.

There are now good grounds for believing that the first aversion and mistrust arose on Bismarck's side. While he had every reason to view with misgiving early manifestations of the Emperor's way of trying to establish the Royal and Imperial authority in the land and German prestige abroad, he had, partly through self-indulgence, such as his long absences on his estates, as well as his whole manner of life, lost touch both with his young master and with, at any rate, home affairs. He does not appear to have left Friedrichsruh between November 1889 and the day (Jan. 24, 1890) of the fateful Crown Council on William II's labour policy. Bismarck himself afterwards deplored these absences, and said to a guest in 1892, 'On the ground that my health must be taken care of, I was kept away from Berlin and from contact with the actual course of affairs. . . . I felt no necessity or desire to be frequently away for such long periods.' William II, like William I before him, encouraged these absences from a real desire to safeguard the health of the aged Chancellor. At the beginning of 1890 William II doubtless had the additional reason that he was concerned about the line which Bismarck might take if he spoke in the Reichstag on the question of the Socialist Law, then due to be renewed or dropped. But the real coddlers of the old Chancellor were his wife and his son Herbert. Some notes, all too fragmentary, by Dr Franz von Rottenburg, Bismarck's official private secretary (Chef der Reichskanzlei), are incorporated with Boetticher's apologia in the volume 'Fürst Bismarcks Entlassung' recently published by Baron von Eppstein. When Rottenburg realised, in the Christmas week of 1889, that William II was maturing plans for fresh Labour legislation of a kind to which he knew Bismarck to be opposed, he strongly felt that the Chancellor ought to go at once to Berlin and see the Emperor. He broached the subject to Count Herbert, who promptly expressed his dissent.

'If the Prince went to Berlin, the Princess would insist upon accompanying him. A visit to Berlin would be dangerous for her, as influenza was prevalent there. There was no necessity

Digitized by Google

for a talk with the Emperor, as there were no differences of any importance. "You urge that he should go to Berlin," Count Herbert concluded, "only because you are bored here" [at Friedrichsruh].'

Rottenburg, who, like many others, had to suffer much insolence from Count Herbert, could only drop the subject with a mild protest against the insinuation.

Finally, Boetticher himself went down to Friedrichsruh on Jan. 7, 1890. According to a letter which Count Zeppelin, a friend of the Boetticher family, addressed to Frau von Boetticher on her husband's death in 1907, the object of Boetticher's visit was 'to adjure the Prince to abandon his abstention from political affairs, which was simply making it impossible for the government to be carried on.' 'Es gelingt nichts mehr' (nothing now succeeds) was a common lament in political articles and speeches at this time. The Prussian Minister of Agriculture, Baron Lucius von Ballhausen, had just written to the Chancellor in the same sense, and had complained that in Bismarck's absence the Emperor was neglecting to keep in touch with the Prussian Ministry or to pay any heed to its advice. Boetticher was well received by both the Prince and the Princess at Friedrichsruh, but he was unable to persuade Bismarck to come and confer with the Emperor about Labour legislation. He even felt, when he left, that his representations had not been welcome.

Till then, Boetticher had enjoyed the complete confidence and the friendship of the Prince, to whom, as he always acknowledged, he owed everything, including a personal intervention which had saved his father-in-law, a Stralsund banker, from bankruptcy and himself from serious embarrassment. But there was an incident during this visit which planted a root of bitterness in Bismarck's mind; it cropped up again and again in his later communications to the press and in his Memoirs. Boetticher, as he himself narrates, had sat beside the Emperor at a dinner at Prince Hatzfeldt's, at Trachenburg, on the occasion of a shooting-party a few days before his visit to Friedrichsruh. The Emperor had begun to talk about the state of Prince Bismarck's health, and had said that he feared the Prince would not live much longer, 'especially as he was trying to ease his [neuralgic] pains

Digitized by Google

by the excessive use of morphia.' Boetticher replied that he, who had the best opportunities of knowing, had never seen or heard anything to support this story. The Emperor insisted that he was 'quite sure of it,' and added that, when Boetticher went to Fredrichsruh, he could easily convince himself. Boetticher thought the matter of sufficient importance to question Bismarck's doctor, Prof. Schweninger; and Schweninger told him that for years no morphia had been administered, but only, when the Prince suffered from sleeplessness, a comparatively harmless drug, paraldehyde. Schweninger must have told Bismarck, or some member of the family, about the incident, for the Prince, after he had broken with the Emperor and with Boetticher, used to assert—he repeats the assertion in the last volume of his Memoirs—that Boetticher told the Emperor that he (Bismarck) was a 'morphinist.'

Bismarck was not a 'morphinist,' but his manner of life, even after it had been reformed by Schweninger, was such as would have broken the health and the working capacity of any man with a constitution less powerful than his. Prince Hohenlohe gives an account of a meal at Bismarck's where he took pot-luck not long before the crisis. His comment on the *menu* was, 'Things, all of them, that were fit to ruin the stomach.' The Chancellor no longer (thanks to Schweninger's iron will) worked most of the night and slept most of the day. But he was still an habitual champagne drinker and drank much when he had company. Hofmann of the 'Hamburger Nachrichten,' his journalistic familiar after his resignation, reports that, when he went to Friedrichsruh of an afternoon to receive instructions and found Bismarck suffering from excruciating face-ache, the Prince would have a bottle of champagne brought in, and would put the bottle to his lips and drink from it, because he believed that the concentrated carbonic acid gas had a soothing effect upon his pains. The nervous system of a man who lived like this, even if he were a giant in strength, was bound to make him impatient of contradiction and, above all, inapt to deal with a master who was his superior, though in nothing else, in youth, in health, and in nervous power.

There can be no doubt that the main source of the

Digitized by Google

rupture, though not its final cause, was to be sought in the Emperor's projects of social legislation. The third volume of the 'Recollections' gives earlier instances of strong differences of opinion, most of them before William II's accession. Bismarck's firm and frank condemnation of the association of the Prince and Princess William with the Waldersee-Stoecker Home Mission scheme, not for its anti-Semitic tinge, but for its implicit political character, did not permanently rankle. William II in after years himself said of Stoecker, 'Political parsons I cannot abide.' Nor can he, on reflexion, have resented the wise, if very emphatic, advice tendered by Bismarck when Prince William submitted to him a tactless circular to the German Federated Sovereigns, which he wanted to have dispatched to the Prussian Legations and kept ready for the event of the expected death of his two predecessors and his own accession. Bismarck wrote on Jan. 6, 1888:

'The enclosure in the letter of Nov. 29 I have the honour to return to Your Royal Highness with my humble duty, and I would respectfully suggest that you should burn it without delay. If a draft of that kind were to become known prematurely, not only would H.M. the Emperor [William I] and H.R.H. the Crown Prince be disagreeably impressed by it; it must further be borne in mind that the preservation of secrecy is now-a-days very uncertain. Even this single existing copy, which I have here [at Friedrichsruh] kept carefully under lock and key, might fall into the wrong hands. But if some twenty copies were to be made and to be deposited at seven Legations, the possibilities of evil accidents and of imprudent individuals would be greatly multiplied. And, even if ultimately the document were to be employed in the manner intended, it would then become known that it had been drawn up and held in readiness before the death of reigning personages, which would not create a good impression.'

A still more serious matter was the letter which William, as Crown Prince, had addressed to Bismarck on May 10, 1888, on the subject of close co-operation between the Foreign Office and the General Staff in the shaping of policy. While protesting that he did not desire any departure from a policy of peace, the new Crown Prince strongly urged that the views of the

Digitized by Google

General Staff should constantly be communicated with perfect frankness and with insistence upon the military point of view to the statesmen responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs. In the autumn of 1887, for example, says the Crown Prince, 'the military authorities of Germany and Austria ought to have called attention to the favourable military opportunity which presented itself for warlike action by both countries.' The whole letter, in its conception of the attitude of Russia and France towards Germany, its discussion of the durability of the Triple Alliance, and its hint that the inevitable war ought perhaps to be waged 'sooner rather than later,' is worth studying in its bearings upon what happened in July and August 1914.

Bismarck's reply is not given, but his marginal notes on the letter are instructive. They show that he suspected Count Waldersee to have been the inspirer of the Crown Prince William's views. Waldersee at this time was assistant to the old Moltke as Quartermaster-General at the General Staff; in a few months he was to succeed Moltke as Chief of the Staff, though only for a couple of years. A *beau sabreur* and a reckless political schemer, he was an enigmatical figure in German politics during the first ten years of William II's reign. His influence was always suspected in the background when the Emperor made some unusually dramatic pronouncement. He represented in his time the military environment in which Prince William had spent his youth at Potsdam. His wife, an American, was connected with the Empress by her first marriage to a Prince of Schleswig-Holstein; and the couple were associated with the semi-political religious movement led by Court-Chaplain Stoecker, in which, as has been seen, the young Prince and Princess William interested themselves, against Bismarck's advice. So late as the year 1900 he was still politically formidable enough for Prince (then Herr von) Bülow, who, as Foreign Secretary, was waiting to succeed Prince Hohenlohe in the Chancellorship, to feel relieved at the departure of a possible rival for China. It was Waldersee who is reported by Bismarck to have on one occasion observed to the young Emperor, 'Frederick the Great would never have become "the Great" if at his accession he had found

Digitized by Google

and kept in power a minister of the significance and authority of Bismarck.'

There is one thing that is worth noting before passing from the subject of these letters, now published for the first time. Bismarck may have seen eye to eye with the new Crown Prince on various subjects, particularly the Battenberg marriage question, during the ninety-nine days of Frederick's reign, but he evidently did not curry favour with the coming Emperor. He frankly told Prince William where he thought him wrong. This must dispel the theory that the two were hand-in-glove to undermine the authority of Frederick and to embitter the few months during which Frederick and Victoria wore the Imperial dignity. There is, on the contrary, reason to believe that, especially after the Battenberg marriage project had been dropped, the relations between Frederick and Bismarck were better than they had ever been before, and that the monarch and the Chancellor learned to appreciate each other's qualities. Bismarck's rage at the posthumous publication of Frederick's diary by Geffcken (1889), and his animadversions upon the liberalising tendencies of Frederick when he was Crown Prince, refer to a much earlier epoch. The gross polemics of the German semi-official press, which continued up to Frederick's death and after it, were due to the unexhausted impetus of the campaign which Bismarck himself had doubtless started against the Battenberg marriage, the English doctor Morell Mackenzie, and suspected English influences in general. The flame of Chauvinist feeling was subsequently maintained by Herbert Bismarck, whose behaviour all through this period was brutal in the extreme, and was justly characterised by the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward),

It may be conjectured, with some degree of confidence, that, when the Crown Prince William wrote his letter (above, pp. 261–2) about Russia, France, and the Triple Alliance, he had not been initiated into the secret of the Treaty of Reinsurance with Russia. Some allusion to it in this eminently confidential letter would have been almost inevitable if he had known of it. There is a complete lacuna on this subject in all accounts of the relations of William as Crown Prince and as Emperor

Digitized by Google

with Bismarck until the moment when Bismarck's successor, Caprivi, informed the retiring Chancellor that he considered the arrangement with Russia to be 'too complicated'— a euphemism for 'disloyal to Austria.' It is possible that the publication of the German Foreign Office Archives down to 1914, which is now impending, may throw light upon various aspects of the situation in this regard between March 1888 and March 1890.

The acute Chancellor crisis began on Jan. 24, 1890. The young Emperor had been working behind the scenes at a draft scheme of Labour policy. He evidently had in his mind the European impression produced by his grandfather's message of 1881, inaugurating the policy of workers' national insurance. So far he had not consulted the Prussian Ministry, which would have been the constitutional way of proceeding. If the King of Prussia wished to initiate measures for the Empire, there had to be a Prussian initiative in the Federal Council. The persons whom William II was consulting were partly unofficial, partly officials within whose competence the matter did not lie. The Grand Duke of Baden, his uncle, appears to have been taken into his confidence. Bismarck states that the Grand Duke, against whom he henceforth cherished a bitter grudge and with whom he had a stormy parting interview, was surprised when he learned that the new Labour policy was leading to the crisis which brought about the dismissal of the Chancellor. More active advisers were Dr Hintzpeter, who had been the Emperor's tutor in his boyhood; Count Douglas, a potash millionaire and little else; a Herr von Heyden, a painter who had previously been manager of a coal mine; and Baron von Berlepsch, Government President at Düsseldorf, a man of real ability and an earnest student of Labour questions.

Once the outline of his scheme was ready, the Emperor summoned a Crown Council, i.e. the Prussian Ministry presided over by the King in person. He summoned it for Jan. 24; and Bismarck, like the rest of the Ministers, got notice only on the previous day. Instead of coming to Berlin, as had been expected, on the 23rd, Bismarck travelled on the 24th (a Friday, and he objected to travelling on Fridays!), and arrived—not

Digitized by Google

in the best of moods, as Boetticher testifies—in time for a preliminary sitting of the Ministry. He had previously inquired by telegraph what the business of the Council was to be; and Boetticher had conjecturally informed him that the Emperor would probably raise the question of fresh Labour legislation. Herbert Bismarck had confirmed the conjecture by direct inquiry of the Emperor. But, although William II received the Chancellor in audience half an hour before the Council, he did not, Bismarck asserts, give him any hint of what he was going to say.

When the Council met, the Emperor made upon Bismarck 'the impression of having a joyful surprise in store for the Ministers.' His Majesty gave Boetticher what Bismarck calls an elaborate lucubration to read, in which he discussed the position of the proletariat, the influence of the Socialists, and his own scheme for a reform of the Labour Laws. He proposed (1) the prohibition of Sunday labour, *exceptis excipiendis;* (2) absolute prohibition of nightwork and underground work for women and children; (3) prohibition of female labour in the weeks immediately before and after childbearing, interruption of female labour in the interest of household duties, and prohibition of female labour in certain noxious occupations; (4) prohibition of the industrial employment of children below 14 years of age, with certain exceptions. There was a good deal more about workmen's representative committees to negotiate with the employers, and about churches and savings banks. Then there was the question of international competition, and the probable necessity of international agreements as to Labour legislation. The Emperor hinted at an international conference (such as was presently convoked by him), and objected to the international leadership in these questions being taken over by 'a small and politically extreme republic' like Switzerland, which had suggested a conference in 1888. 'The result would be quite different if the German Emperor took the initiative and brought international labour legislation under his protection.' The Emperor characteristically mentioned that he had convoked this Crown Council on the birthday of Frederick the Great; and he wanted an edict in the sense of his new policy to

Digitized by Google

be prepared at once, so that it could be issued on his own birthday three days later.

Prince Bismarck, speaking in the sense of the Council, requested more time for consideration—a request which the Emperor granted. The Chancellor's criticisms of the Emperor's proposals showed what a wide gulf there was between their views, although Bismarck afterwards attempted to bridge it, and even himself drafted the Imperial Labour Edicts which were published on Feb. 4. In Bismarck's opinion this was a proposal, not to 'protect' the workers, but to compel them to work less. He doubted whether the employers could afford to make up the deficit in the workers' earnings, if, for example, 14 per cent. of their labour were lost through Sunday rest. Bismarck, as he elsewhere states, did not believe in interfering between heads of families and their children as to the children's hours of work. In a word, his views were as reactionary as those of any Radical Lancashire cotton-spinner before the passing of the Factory Acts.

The Emperor does not appear to have manifested any impatience at this criticism of his Labour schemes; but there followed a still more critical discussion as to what was to be done about the renewal of the Socialist Law, of which the third reading was in progress. The majority of the Reichstag was against retaining the clause by which Socialist agitators could be expelled from any German State; while the Conservatives would only agree to dropping that clause if the Government promised to introduce a still more drastic measure at some future date. The Emperor was in favour of accepting the law without the expulsion clause, and of giving the Conservatives the promise they desired. Bismarck objected to any concession and was prepared to face the situation if, in consequence of opposition from the unsatisfied Right and from the opponents of the whole measure, the Socialist Law (as actually happened) fell through altogether. Bismarck indicated that he expected something like a Socialist rising and consequent bloodshed if the Law lapsed. The Emperor did not want the first years of his reign to be stained by a military massacre of workmen.

In the course of this discussion Bismarck became

Digitized by Google

excited and remarked: 'I see more and more that I am no longer wanted here.' Boetticher in his account of the scene says that 'His Majesty remained calm and moderate.' Bismarck, on the other hand, reports that William II, leaning over towards Boetticher, observed: 'This places me in a dilemma.' Earlier in the discussion the Emperor had said: 'I am very far from casting my small experience into the balance against the vast experience of your Serene Highness.'

Next day the Reichstag was dissolved by the Emperor in person, after it had failed to pass the Socialist Law. Its legislative period had in any case expired. Boetticher drafted the speech from the throne and took it to Bismarck for approval or alteration. Bismarck listened while Boetticher read the draft, and then said that he took no interest in it and that Boetticher might submit it to the Emperor as it was. This was done, and Boetticher handed the text of the speech to the Emperor at the ceremony. Bismarck was not present. On the same day (Jan. 25), Rottenburg reports:

'The Prince said to me he saw that it was impossible for him to remain in office. The Emperor was completely estranged from him; he listened to other people—the Prince mentioned Count Douglas and the painter Heyden—and their opinion had more weight than his. At the Crown Council he had come to the conclusion that his colleagues had deserted him. The Prince lay in his dressing-gown on the sofa, and had tears in his eyes.'

Rottenburg tried in vain to comfort him. He recalled the fact that he had warned him in the previous autumn, and added that, if the Prince would now remain in Berlin for some time, perhaps everything would come right. The Prince only shook his head. The truth was that Prince Bismarck was no longer equal to managing the home and foreigu affairs of the Empire and the young Emperor as well. Count Bill Bismarck, a kindlier counsellor than his brother Herbert, remarked to Rottenburg, 'My father can no longer deal the hammer-blows he used to'; and Rottenburg felt the same.

It is impossible to trace here, except in outline, the development of friction between the Emperor and Bismarck which culminated in the decisive stormy

Digitized by Google

interview at Count Herbert's house in the garden of the Foreign Office on the morning of March 15. Bismarck, in his brief notes (chap. viii) on his four or five previous audiences at the Castle in February and March, endeavours to convey the impression that, with occasional vacillations, the Emperor really wanted to get rid of him, but did not wish to incur before Germany and Europe the tremendous responsibility of dismissing him. It rather seems as if it was Bismarck who had been manœuvring for position. On Feb. 8 he proposed the solution that he should resign his Prussian offices on Feb. 20, and only retain the management of Germany's foreign policy, i.e. the Chancellorship. He knew very well, from a former experiment (Roon's Minister-Presidency in 1873), that it was impossible to conduct the affairs of the Empire without, as Minister-President, having absolute control of the Prussian vote in the Federal Council. There was an Army Bill to be carried through; and then came the new situation created by the defeat of the *Cartel*, that is to say, the Conservatives and National Liberals, on Feb. 20 at the general election. The Social Democrats had increased their strength to 35 seats in the Reichstag, and had polled the largest vote of any party 1,427,289, as compared with 763,000 in 1887. Bismarck was (or pretended to be) for initiating a campaign *à outrance* against the Social Democracy. The Grand Duke of Baden warned the Emperor against a policy that would lead to bloodshed, and pointed out that, if it came to a conflict, 'the old Chancellor would once more be in the foreground'; which was probably exactly what the old Chancellor wanted.

By the beginning of March the Emperor had probably come to the conclusion that he and the Chancellor were fighting a barren battle. The King's government had to be carried on; and for the affairs of the day the Emperor had more and more to depend upon Bismarck's faithful and industrious henchman, Boetticher. For Boetticher the position was difficult in the extreme; and Bismarck took care not to make it easier by his treatment of his lieutenant, which became more and more marked by suspicion and ill-will. At an audience on March 8 the Emperor raised the subject, and asked Bismarck to deal more kindly with his subordinate. Bismarck seems on

Digitized by Google

this occasion to have entirely lost his temper. He stormed against Boetticher, whom he accused of 'insubordination and duplicity.' The Chancellor had hardly left the castle when His Majesty sent to Boetticher the highest decoration it was in his power to bestow, the Black Eagle. It fell to Rottenburg, at Boetticher's request, to break this news to Bismarck, which he did at a favourable moment after dinner. Bismarck only remarked at that time (quoting Schiller's Wallenstein) 'Du hast's erreicht, Octavio!' Herbert Bismarck, as usual, intervened and said: 'You oughtn't to stand this. This is a blow directed against you.'

Two important incidents led to the interview of March 15, which caused the final rupture. The first was the reception of Windthorst, the Catholic Centre leader, by Bismarck. Windthorst had sought a meeting, 'had left his burrow' as Bismarck put it; and Bismarck, in view of the balance of parties which the elections had produced, was willing to receive the visit of the Hanoverian Guelph, whom he had always denounced as a 'Reichsfeind,' in order to 'reconnoitre' Windthorst's dispositions and plans. It is more probable that Windthorst, an old fox, succeeded in 'reconnoitring' Bismarck's position. He came away with the correct impression that the Chancellor was tottering to his fall. The incident was so unexpected and, in the then state of Germany, so sensational that the Emperor desired an immediate explanation. He put himself in the wrong by challenging the Chancellor's right to receive in his own house any member of the Reichstag and, for his own information, to discuss the situation. Only a year afterwards the Emperor himself, in consonance with the changed political circumstances, was to accord funeral honours to Windthorst on an almost royal scale.

The second incident was the reminder conveyed by Bismarck to the Prussian Ministers, that there existed a cabinet order of 1852 (during the reign of Frederick William IV), forbidding Ministers to have special audiences of the King without the Minister-President's knowledge and consent. It was easy for Bismarck to show that a consistent policy could not be conducted unless this order were carried out. The revival of it, in the circumstances of the crisis, was nevertheless intended

Digitized by Google

as an open check to the Emperor, who so interpreted it, and complained that he could not see his Ministers or transact business with them because Bismarck forbade. William II demanded the abrogation of the order, and Bismarck refused. Bismarck seems to succeed in proving in his Memoirs that, after his resignation, the demand for the repeal of the order was not maintained, and that subsequent Minister-Presidents enforced it.

Bismarck gives his own account of the violent interview on March 15, about which the Emperor afterwards told Prince Hohenlohe that 'he [Bismarck] all but threw the inkpot at me.' There is only one point which need be mentioned here. Bismarck renewed the objections which he had offered six months before against a contemplated visit of William II to the Emperor Alexander III of Russia. In this connexion he referred to a report from Count Hatzfeldt, the German Ambassador in London, on some depreciatory personal criticisms of William which Alexander was said to have uttered. Bismarck had Hatzfeldt's despatch in his hand as he spoke, and the Emperor demanded to see it. Bismarck refused, and the Emperor snatched it from him and read it with manifest displeasure. Bismarck in his Memoirs gives elaborate explanations of his action in citing Hatzfeldt's report, and says that, *more regum*, the Emperor visited upon the bearer of bad news the displeasure which the news had excited. It looks as if Bismarck had designedly raised this disagreeable subject in order to bring a vital question of foreign politics into the scope of a painful interview. He knew by this time that he must abandon the Chancellorship of the Empire as well as the Prussian Minister-Presidency, and he wanted to irritate the Emperor into hastily dismissing him from both offices, and thus putting himself wrong with German and with European opinion.

The Emperor was irritated, but he still avoided the final step of dismissal. He sent General von Hahnke, chief of Military Cabinet, to ask that the Cabinet Order of 1852 should be at once revoked. Bismarck's answer was to the effect that, if the Emperor chose, he could repeal the order himself. He (Bismarck) could not comply with the demand. On the following morning Hahnke again came and not only reiterated the demand

Digitized by Google

for the repeal of the order, but added that the Emperor now expected Bismarck's immediate resignation. It required another reminder from a second messenger, Lucanus, Chief of the Emperor's Civil Cabinet, to induce Bismarck to send in a written request to be relieved of his offices. He at first replied to Lucanus that the Emperor could at any moment dismiss him without a request on his part, and that it could not possibly be his (Bismarck's) intention to remain in the Emperor's service against the Emperor's will. He would draw up his resignation in such terms that he could at once publish them (a design which the Emperor presently forbade). This would be his only reason for agreeing to send in a written resignation. 'I had no intention myself to take the responsibility for my resignation, but meant to leave it with His Majesty. There would certainly be opportunities for explaining the origin of it.' The resignation was duly accepted on March 18, and the title of Duke of Lauenburg, in spite of Bismarck's refusal, conferred upon him; he asked, and tacitly assumed that he had received, permission not to use the new title.

There is one final incident that requires notice. The Emperor, on the morning of March 17, sent back to the Foreign Office, among other papers, some reports by the German Consul at Kieff regarding Russian military preparations. Bismarck had not attached first-rate importance to these reports, nor had he submitted all of them directly to the Emperor. He was accustomed, like Bethmann Hollweg at a later date, to select documents for submission with a sense of the impression they might produce in the highest quarter. All the Kieff reports, however, had been sent on to the General Staff (Count Waldersee), through which channel, Bismarck knew, they might well have reached the Emperor. The reports greatly, and, it may safely be said, unduly alarmed William II. He returned them with the following open note, legible for all the officials through whose hands it passed before reaching Bismarck:

'The reports show in the clearest manner that the Russians are in full deployment (*Aufmarsch*); and, I must say, I greatly regret that I have received so little of these reports. They might long ago have called my attention to the terrible danger which threatens. It is high time to warn the Austrians

Digitized by Google

to take counter-measures. In these circumstances there can, of course, be no thought of my paying my visit to Krasnoe.* The reports are excellent.'

Did the Emperor know of the secret Treaty of Reinsurance? Or had he, perhaps, forgotten its existence?—a not impossible eventuality. Or was the Treaty at this time in a state of suspended animation? Some references in Baron von Eckhardstein's Memoirs (vol. III, p. 48) and Bismarck's own account of a visit in these critical days from his personal friend, the Russian Ambassador, Count Paul Schuvaloff, fresh from St Petersburg with 'new communications' (*Eröffnungen*), would encourage the last of these hypotheses. The text of the Treaty has now been published. It was indeed 'complicated'; and its wording seemed to secure for Russia the moral and diplomatic support of Germany, not indeed for the occupation of the Dardanelles—the defence of which was the business of Turkey on pain of forfeiting the guarantees for her integrity—but for the eventuality that the Tsar should consider it necessary to take measures for the defence of the approach to the Black Sea (i.e. the Bosphorus) 'in order to keep in his hands the key to his Empire.' And Russia's interests in the Balkans were alone acknowledged in this Treaty, in contrast to the 'Drei-Kaiser' Agreements of 1881 and 1884, which also recognised the interests of Austria.

There is another possible explanation of William II's attitude. The Emperor had been to Constantinople in the previous autumn. The Deutsche Bank had purchased the Anatolian Railway from a British Company. The Near-Eastern policy of William II may have already been taking shape in his mind. That policy not only entailed a change of attitude towards Russia; it also involved the close association of Germany with Austria's Balkan policy, which was to bear such deadly fruit in July–August 1914. No one except Bismarck seems to have realised at the time the full significance of the change. The Emperor himself never believed that he had broken the link with Russia. He even concluded in 1905 with Nicholas II the Björkoe Treaty, his own

* The visit was nevertheless paid with Caprivi in the summer of 1890.

Digitized by Google

abortive imitation of Bismarck's Treaty of Reinsurance. But the die was cast when he turned Germany's ambitions towards the East.

Yet, no sufficient evidence, the present writer thinks, can be found for the frequent assertion that Bismarck fell over the Reinsurance Treaty. Bismarck himself had no reason for reticence on the subject in his third volume, which was intended to be published after the Emperor's death. In that volume he expresses his well-founded doubts as to the Emperor's capability of managing his personal relations with Alexander III, but adduces not a particle of evidence that the Emperor, prior to the final quarrel, or during it, intended to abandon the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia. Nor does the Emperor in his very frank account to Hohenlohe (Memoirs, vol. II, pp. 414–15) of the causes of his break with Bismarck mention any such intention. He dwells on Bismarck's opposition to the Labour legislation scheme, on Bismarck's view of the Socialist law and the treatment of the Socialists and, above all, on the episode of the Cabinet Order of 1852. The only reference to Russia is in the concluding sentences of Hohenlohe's notes of the conversation:

'As regards the foreign policy of the country, the Emperor said that Bismarck had gone his own way and had withheld information upon many of his actions. He even said that Bismarck had informed St Petersburg that the Emperor would pursue an anti-Russian policy. For this statement, however, the Emperor added, he had no evidence.'

The truth seems to be that, while relations with Russia may have been in the background of both the Emperor's and the Chancellor's mind, it was only after the resignation that they assumed the importance in Bismarck's polemics and in the light of the conclusion of the Franco-Russian alliance which historians have tended to give them in this particular connexion.

The Treaty of Reinsurance was a very singular document, in some ways more singular even than the Björkoe Treaty of 1905, which, after all, was signed by the two contracting Sovereigns. The Treaty of 1887 was signed by Count Herbert Bismarck and the Russian Ambassador, Count Paul Schuvaloff, and by no one

Digitized by Google

else. It describes itself as an engagement between 'the two *Courts*,' and is full of such expressions as 'the Courts pledge themselves,' 'the two Courts recognise,' 'the two Courts declare,' etc. It may legitimately be questioned whether this Convention was even as binding as the Björkoe Agreement, which the two Governments quietly dropped before it was many months old. Above all, it may be questioned whether an Agreement between 'the two Courts' did not in a very special sense require the explicit endorsement of both Sovereigns, one of whom had ascended his throne about a year after it had been concluded. We now know that on Nov. 22, 1887, only five months after the conclusion of the Treaty, Bismarck wrote a letter to Lord Salisbury in which he called attention (with some success, as it turned out) to the desirability of close co-operation between Great Britain and Austria and Italy for the maintenance of the *status quo*, including the regulations with regard to the Dardanelles, in the Near East. This, together with Germany's adhesion to the Austrian Treaty with Rumania, amounted indeed, as Caprivi is said to have put it, to 'juggling with five balls,' a feat beyond the powers of any ordinary diplomatist.

The truth appears to be that Bismarck, in his *cauchemar des coalitions*, had tied himself up in a tangle that he did not like even his Sovereign to realise. And he did not believe that young Sovereign to be capable of keeping up the 'juggling performance with five balls,' or even of keeping on good personal terms with an autocrat of the temperament of Alexander III. In both these assumptions he was doubtless right. But he went further. For the maintenance of intimate relations with Russia in particular he considered himself to be indispensable. How greatly mistaken he was in this opinion is shown by what the Tsar said to William II on the occasion of his visit to Narva (Aug. 18, 1890): 'The Tsar told me that he has full confidence in Caprivi, but, whenever Bismarck had said anything to him, he always had the conviction *qu'il me tricherait*.' And to Caprivi himself Alexander III said on the same occasion: 'I have confidence in your sincerity; I never could honestly trust your predecessor.'

GEORGE SAUNDERS.

Digitized by Google

Art. 4.—THE PROBLEM OF MODERN INDUSTRY.

1. *Industry and Trade, a Study of Industrial Technique and Business Organisation.* By Alfred Marshall. Macmillan, 1919.
2. *Grundriss der allgemeinen Wirtschaftslehre.* Final Posthumous Edition. Two vols. By Gustav Schmoller. Berlin: Duncker & Mumblot, 1919.
3. *Self-Government in Industry* (Bell. Second Edition, 1919); *Guild Socialism Restated* (Leonard Parsons, 1920), and other works. By G. D. H. Cole.
4. *Plan for Democratic Control of Mining Industry.* Published by South Wales Socialist Society, 1919.
5. *Christianity and Industrial Problems.* Being the report of the Archbishop's Fifth Commission of Inquiry. S.P.C.K., 1919.
6. *Our Social Heritage.* By Graham Wallas. Allen & Unwin, 1921.
7. *The Acquisitive Society.* By R. H. Tawney. Bell, 1921.
8. *The Human Factor in Business.* By B. Seebohm Rowntree. Longmans, 1921.
9. *In Days to Come* (*Von Kommenden Dingen*). By Walter Rathenau. Allen & Unwin, 1921.

And other works.

THE war, together with the tremendous economic upheaval which accompanied and followed it, marks the end of an epoch in the industrial history of Europe; and, though men's minds, in the modern age, generally move more slowly than outward events, it is clear that a new era of economic thinking is upon us also. Of the vast literature dealing with industrial reform or revolution which has accumulated during the last two or three generations, there is but little that has not been rendered out of date. Indeed, by a curious irony, it is the reformers and revolutionaries who are in greater danger of obsolescence than the classical and descriptive writers who formed the target of their attack; for the course of events which put Socialists into political power, for longer or shorter periods, in Russia, Germany, Austria and Hungary, at the very moment when the balance of economic power was being transferred, over the greater part of the continent, from the urban to the rural producer, has done less damage to the monumental analyses

Digitized by Google

of Marshall and Schmoller than to the writings of those who, taking the familiar conditions of European economic life, and of Europe's relationship with the overseas world, for granted, employed their imagination, and raised imposing structures of theory, upon what has proved to be an unstable and shifting foundation.

Recent periodical literature, in Germany in particular, abounds with descriptions of attempts to put Socialist theory into practice, and with reflexions on the lessons to be derived from the experience. A few passages may be given in illustration of the return to realism.

'The hour of Socialism,' writes Prof. Schumpeter, himself sympathetically disposed to Socialist ideas, 'had certainly not yet struck when the world-war broke out. The course and sequel of the war on the economic field mark an ostensible approach to Socialism in one respect, in that they have somewhat accelerated the process of concentration or trustification. In all other essential respects the war has involved a setback to Socialism, as to every other social development, and assigned new tasks to capitalist private initiative, which would not have fallen to its share under normal conditions. . . . We must learn to realise (he adds) that a merchant who can steer a load of coals past every obstacle in the way and deposit it safely in a factory is doing more service to his people than all the intellectuals put together.'

The same periodical * contains an interesting and well-documented account by Prof. R. Michels of the Syndicalist occupation of the Italian metal factories in the autumn of 1920. The attempt which was to usher in a new economic order petered out after a few weeks owing to lack of capital and the withholding of raw materials and the cancellation of orders by 'capitalist' salesmen and customers. An important contributing factor was the attitude of the engineers and technicians, who maintained 'neutrality' during the dispute and so gave a convincing demonstration of their indispensability. The Works Councils subsequently set up by Signor Giolitti were rather a concession to principle and a means of education than a change in the practical management or sovereignty of industry.

Prof. Göppert † gives a careful survey of the 'Attempts

* 'Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik,' vol. 49.

† 'Schmoller's Jahrbuch,' vol. 45.

Digitized by Google

at Socialisation in Germany since the Revolution,' and arrives at a similar negative conclusion. He enumerates the four schools of economic thought which faced the situation in Germany after the debâcle at the close of the war—the orthodox Socialists, the advocates of controlled production (*Planwirtschaft*, a non-Socialist but largely self-governing Guild system), the pure *entrepreneurs* of the Stinnes type, and the Syndicalists or Bolshevists with their primitive watchword, 'The mine to the miners.' He points out how controlled production failed because 'it did not fit its theory to the facts but tried to make the facts fit its theory,' and ignored the depression and discouragement of initiative involved in the attempt to press the whole complex system of industry into a pre-arranged Procrustean scheme. Very similar is the conclusion of Prof. L. Mises, of Vienna, who is entitled to a hearing as having, almost alone among economists, rightly assessed the forces which were making for the break-up of the Hapsburg Monarchy. Having surveyed at close quarters the course of events which has made the economic life of his country largely dependent upon state action, albeit the action not of a domestic but of foreign governments, he concludes a careful analysis with the statement that Socialism is incompatible with a rational or satisfactory system of production. But, with characteristic irony, he adds that this is not necessarily an argument against Socialism.

'Neither those who believe in Socialism on ethical grounds, in spite of the fact that the socialisation of the means of production will diminish the available supply of necessary goods, nor those who are attracted to Socialism by an ideal of asceticism, will be influenced by such considerations. Still less will it deter those whose primary object in embracing Socialism is "redemption from the most horrible of all barbarisms—the capitalist system."'

It is not the object of the following pages either to describe the changed economic situation with which the European peoples are now confronted or to adapt pre-war projects and ideals to post-war realities. Their aim is at once more modest and more fundamental. It is to resurvey the ground left bare by the failure of what may broadly be described as Nineteenth-Century Socialism and of the temper and philosophy

Digitized by Google

of protest associated with it, and to indicate a fresh starting-point and a new direction, both for the conduct of business, and for men's reflexions and theories about it. Such a re-survey and re-analysis, which shall not only help men to look with fresh eyes at the economic process itself but also relate it to other elements in our civilisation from which it ought never to have been divorced, is perhaps the most urgent need of all those who spend their efforts and earn their livelihood in the task of production. For it is only through a vivid sense of what the actual nature of their service is, and of the need for co-operation and self-dedication in its performance, that they can hope to rise above the atmosphere of perplexity and of internecine conflict in which they have so long been enveloped.

What is the economic process? What is the *raison d'être* of the vast accumulation of goods and warehouses, and means of transport and communication, which fills so large a space in our modern existence? It is to supply men's needs, men's *political* needs, the needs of man not as an individual in relation with the Infinite but as a social being. Politics and economics, or, to use the more precise traditional term, politics and political economy, are two closely related spheres of human life. Politics proper is concerned with the management of the common affairs of men, of the *Res Publica*, that which is common and of interest to men as members of a community. Political economy is concerned with one particular aspect of those common affairs, with the supplying of men's common needs, with the management of what it is still most helpful to think of, in the literal sense of the Greek word, as a household. As the first principle, the primary activity, of politics or government is to govern, to carry on the King's government, as the old English phrase runs, so the first principle of economics, or community-housekeeping, is to keep the household supplied with the goods and services indispensable to the maintenance of civilised existence. It is through the economic process, regular as the seasons, that the possibility of a 'good life' is maintained for dwellers in our highly organised 20th-century communities.

These bald definitions have the savour of the common-

Digitized by Google

place. Yet, closely examined and thoroughly understood, they administer the *coup de grâce* to a whole tribe of theories, to generations of propaganda. Socialism, viewed as a movement of thought rather than of mere protest or revolt, has two guiding ideals—Justice and Freedom. 'The fruits of toil to the toiler,' and 'the emancipation of the proletariat,' the first a cry of Justice, the second of Freedom, are the two most resonant Socialist watchwords. To Freedom we shall be brought back later in our survey (p. 287). Here we must stop to note that Justice, in any exact meaning of the word, is ruled out by our definition. If the primary object of the economic process is to keep the household supplied with goods and services, then we cannot approve an economic scheme, however ethical in conception, which aims primarily at effecting an equal, or approximately equal, distribution of goods among the dwellers in the house rather than at maintaining a continuous supply. Supply, according to our definition, precedes and is the pre-requisite for distribution; and, if we are forced to choose between a lesser supply accompanied by a more equal distribution as against the maintenance of the existing supply, we shall be assuming a grave responsibility for the welfare of the household if we depart from our axiom and choose the former. Any school of economic thought, then, whether consciously ascetic, as in the case of Tolstoi, or simply doctrinaire, as in the case of less religiously minded advocates of Distributive Justice, which is prepared to make sweeping changes in distribution without due consideration for their effect on the flow of goods and services, is ignoring the most vital factor in its field of study and is liable to cruel disillusionment. The experience of the very able and sincere men who have ruined the economy of Russia in an attempt to follow this false light should be a sufficient warning. It is, however, perhaps too much to hope that we have seen the end of theories and movements taking their rise, not out of a clear vision of the real nature and purpose of economic activity, but out of a protest against particular classes, or even particular individuals, who have risen by means of it to controlling positions of wealth and power. The noble rage of Protestantism has its own precious place in the human scheme; but no

Digitized by Google

mere outburst of passion or system of emancipating philosophy, no doctrine which, as Goethe said of Mephistopheles, merely negates the existing order, can keep men, women, and children housed, clothed, and fed. It is 'der Geist der stets verneint' which has been the nemesis of Socialism. And it is only through a conscious effort to keep the mind fixed on those human needs, the satisfaction of which is the final test of economic organisation, that liberalism can regain the prestige which its too heedless advocates have forfeited or endangered.

A closer examination of these human needs and desires brings us up sharp against another feature in recent systems of reform. The needs of the household are not fixed, final, and classifiable. On the contrary, they are subject to constant change and enlargement. The household of 1922 is utterly different, in its desires and needs, in its 'demand,' from the household of 1822 or even of 1872. Life, grown simpler in some respects, owing to the supplanting of hand-labour by automatic machines, has become far more complex in others; the luxuries of one age, such as the bicycle and the motor-car, become the necessaries of another, while at the same time old appurtenances, long reckoned indispensable, make a silent exit. It has not been sufficiently emphasised in many recent 'advanced' discussions how the variability of human needs and desires, and the unceasing expansion of human energy and inventiveness, combine to set at naught the well-meant efforts of Socialist Canutes to stay the tide of economic change. Methods of housekeeping persist in changing, despite all the efforts to stabilise and standardise them. In this department, as so often in connexion with working-class movements, it is the *soi-disant* Revolutionaries who are the Conservatives. The Guild-Socialists who seek to divide the field of production into a limited number of fixed corporations and to assign every worker, by hand or brain, to his own particular place in the universal scheme, may think of themselves as adherents of what is quaintly called 'the revolutionary tradition,' but their real inspiration is mediæval; nor is it an accident that their liveliest leader should have adorned a Senior Common Room in 'the home of lost causes.'

As Mr Graham Wallas points out in two telling

Digitized by Google

chapters ('The Control of National Co-operation' and 'Professionalism') in his latest book, 'the professional mind is essentially a very conservative mind'—the words are not his own but are cited from a speech by Mr Lloyd George, who has even better means of appraising the attitudes of different sections of the community. And he illustrates the remark by an anecdote which, despite the vigour of its language, is worth citing here. 'I shall never forget,' he writes, 'the emotion of an old Chelsea bricklayer to whom five-and-thirty years ago I described the methods of rapid construction which I had seen in use on the piers of the new Battersea Bridge. "It isn't bricklaying," he shouted, "it's bloody paving."' It is the same cry which has gone up, among the engineers against 'dilution,' among the architects against the designers of steel buildings, amongst grooms and coachmen against mechanics and chauffeurs, or, to take a wholly different field of community service, among the older generation of textual scholars against the archæological school of Hellenists, or among old-fashioned historians against sociologists and psychologists. The Guild-Socialists need, quite as much as the silversmiths of Ephesus, to digest the truth that, as religion has generally made headway against the opposition of priest and pontiff, so the increase of knowledge and the consequent increase of ease and comfort in the household have generally sprung from men who have overleapt the barriers of guild and corporation and confounded the efforts of the professionals who sought to set limits to their activity. Imagine any of the great figures in the history of medicine or education or music or the drama or religion confronted with such a quotation as this from Mr G. D. H. Cole:*

'Industrial Guilds will organise the conduct of the various public utility services, Civil Guilds the conduct of the services of Education and Public Health. Music, drama, and other forms of entertainment are fully susceptible of Guild organisation. Churches are really Guilds of religion, and the problems of Church government assume every year more and more a Guild aspect.'

The purpose and ideal of the service are swallowed up in

* 'Self-Government in Industry,' 2nd edition, p. 15.

Digitized by Google

the absorbing thought of organisation; and Beethoven and César Franck, Garrick and Irving, looked at from this angle, are no longer the unique interpreters of an art which sets men in touch with the sublime, but mere outstanding figures in a professional corporation. It is not by intellectual constructions such as these that the deep-seated malady, of which 'labour unrest' is one of the symptoms, can be healed. We must look deeper both for a diagnosis and a cure.

The Guild-Socialists, then, and, still more, the Syndicalists (who tend to ignore the consumer altogether), have set up unworkable principles of housekeeping based upon onesided views as to the purpose of the economic process. Perhaps the most striking instance of this cardinal defect in their thought is the 'plan,' otherwise both ably and carefully thought out, 'for the democratic control of the mining industry,' drawn up by the advanced wing of the South Wales miners in 1919, at the time when nationalisation seemed on the eve of accomplishment. After enumerating the charges, including 'increases of remuneration,' which would have to be paid for out of output, the pamphlet continues: 'Since the total value of coal produced must be equal to the total amount of the above charges, the total number of tons of coal to be produced will be based upon the average selling price per ton, as determined by competition in the world market.' In other words, had the British colliery industry been organised on this basis in the autumn of 1919, when, owing to a strike in the United States and disturbed conditions in important Continental coalfields, the export price of British coal rose to a monopoly level, British miners, so far from responding to the needs of their working-class comrades on the Continent, would have reduced their output in accordance with the rise of selling prices. No doubt the writers of the pamphlet would have been the first to readjust their policy to humanitarian ends, but it remains on record as a striking testimony to the tendency of advanced thinkers to ignore the purpose of economic activity and the needs of their fellow-men. As against wrongheaded idealism such as this can we adduce a more satisfactory alternative? Are there, in fact, any *principles* of housekeeping? Are there any criteria by

Digitized by Google

which we can judge the working of the economic process, other than just the maintenance of the flow of goods and services?

The difficulty of answering this question lies in the backwardness of the art of housekeeping. Government, the management of the *Res Publica*, is backward enough; as we survey the field of history, we can point to relatively few ages and countries in which public affairs were carried on by men who consciously sought the common weal. Yet it is only when this motive of public spirit or community service is pre-supposed, when the statesman or the voter is assumed to be endeavouring to keep the body politic in health rather than to get personal advantage out of his public activity, that we can begin to work out the principles, or the technique, of the art of government. To extend the suffrage in a community controlled by corrupt political gangs involves considerations wholly different from its extension to men and women, hitherto unenfranchised, who recognise in the vote an instrument for promoting the general good. In a community run on the lines of the ancient military empires of the East, or of Tammany Hall, there can be no question of political principles. There may be an art, a highly developed art, of plundering and profit-making—of what Plato, who first emphasised the distinction it is here being attempted to draw, called χρηματιστικὴ—but such constructions, like much of the technique of Machiavelli's 'Prince,' are on a different plane altogether from politics proper. They are pre-political. Compared with the realistic investigations of political inquirers in communities which have developed a substantial measure of education and public spirit, they are simply antediluvian. The consideration, for instance, to be found in Herodotus, that a rich satrap is preferable to a poor one because he has already made his pile, would not carry much weight in a modern nominating Committee equipped with the latest contrivances of political art for fitting the right man to the right post.

Unfortunately, political economy has not kept pace, in the development either of its thought or of its practice, with the major and more comprehensive art of politics or government. Whereas the notion that government

Digitized by Google

is a form of public service is now general in all civilised lands and enshrined in current phraseology in such terms as 'minister' and 'commonwealth,' it is still customary to regard economics, the art of housekeeping, as primarily a profit-making activity. While St Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom as a profit-making tax-collector, is an obsolete type, his housekeeping compeer, supplying the public with soap or tea or tramways for the aggrandisement of his personal possessions or power, is not only not regarded as old-fashioned or disreputable but is even held up to popular admiration as the ideal of the modern age. It is only recently that the Christian Churches, in our own and other countries, have begun to busy themselves officially with the application of the Christian principle of brotherhood, and the Christian duty of service, to the organisation of industry. Five years ago, during the height of the war, the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a strong committee 'to consider and report upon the ways in which the Church may best commend the teaching of Christ to those who are seeking to solve the problems of industrial life.' The resultant report, embodied in a volume entitled 'Christianity and Industrial Problems,' and, still more, the useful short statement of principles laid down by the committee of business men who have founded the 'National Movement towards a Christian Order of Industry and Commerce,' * go some way towards laying the foundations of a new set of customs and presuppositions, a new code and etiquette, in economic relations for which Mr Tawney's more incisive book, 'The Acquisitive Society,' is an eloquent plea. But there is still much leeway to make up; and, so long as economics continue to lag behind politics, and the fundamental transformation from the motive of profit to the motive of service has not been generally made, as in the sister art of politics, the construction of economic principles must necessarily be a vague and unsubstantial task. For such principles will be set up, as it were, in a void.

It is, however, already possible to descry some of the activities for which a technique will have to be devised,

* 'Demand of Christian Principles in Industry.' 11, Bream's Building (Feb. 1921).

Digitized by Google

when the public spirit of the purveyors of the household is sufficiently developed for men to grapple with them. No discerning mind can watch the silent warfare which is proceeding between the various holders of private power, in oil, or shipping, or meat, or other indispensable elements in the household economy, without realising that mankind is here faced with a problem which is likely to involve it in another world-war unless public power and public spirit are brought in to control, and eventually to supersede, private power and ambitions. 'The more I see of modern industrial tendencies and the closer I have come to an insight into modern international troubles, wrote that frank and far-sighted American, the late Mr Franklin K. Lane, while still Secretary of the Interior in Mr Wilson's administration, in his foreword to 'The Strategy of Minerals,'* 'the more convinced I am that there will be no end to wars and threats of war, to many so-called racial and national conflicts, until the nations of the world regard themselves more really as the trustees of their resources, not merely for those of the same nationality but for the world at large.' The peace of the world is being endangered by the private warfare of industrial barons, a warfare continued, as Mr Lane must have seen at Washington, as others saw it in London, during the Great War itself. On this at least M. Delaisi's instructive little book,† onesided perhaps in its general presentation, may be trusted.

But, when one turns to such remedies as those proposed or adumbrated by Mr Culbertson ‡—the setting up of an International Commission to deal with disputes arising out of tariffs and other matters of commercial policy and ultimately to work out a code of manners for the foreign trader, on the lines of mediæval Venice, similar to the code of honour among doctors—one is bound to confess that not only most business men themselves, but also the governments and public opinion behind them, are not yet alive to the nature of the grave international problems involved or to the need of a complete transformation of existing habits of mind in regard to economic questions. It will be a race between

* Edited by George O. Smith. New York, 1919.
† 'Le Petrole.' Paris, 1921.
‡ 'Commercial Policy in War-time and After.' New York, 1919.

Digitized by Google

the awakening intelligence and the march of events, between the prophets and the profiteers, to decide this issue. Unless public opinion in the leading industrial countries can be brought to regard the world as a single household, and to shape its commercial policies accordingly, another war is inevitable, and the downfall of civilisation may be consummated. There are men enough in London, Washington, Paris, Berlin, and, no doubt, in Tokyo who realise this and say it in private. Would that they were able to proclaim it from the housetops! Nevertheless, the endeavour must be made to indicate some regulative principle, even for an art in embryo; for it is only by keeping the mind fixed on the true aim and methods of economic activity that the fallacies and limitations of the many contending philosophies of negation and protest become clear.

The true leaders of economic idealism in the 19th century were not Marx or any of the economic theorists who preceded or the propagandists who followed him in his limited track, but Mazzini and Ruskin. It is one of the misfortunes of history that the great working-class movement which replaced liberalism as a 'progressive' force during the two generations preceding the war should not have been ranged beneath their banner. The fundamental axiom of economics has never been better stated than by Ruskin in a passage which should be quoted and requoted until it has become commonplace by the adoption of its precept:

'The fact is that people have never had clearly explained to them the true functions of a merchant. . . . Five great intellectual professions, relating to daily necessaries of life, have hitherto existed—three exist necessarily—in every civilised nation:

'The Soldier's profession is to *defend* it,
The Pastor's, to *teach* it.
The Physician's, to *keep it in health*,
The Lawyer's, to *enforce justice* in it,
The Merchant's, to *provide* for it.'

We may pack Ruskin's thought, together with what is fundamental in the literature of protest, into a brief definition: 'The economic process aims at securing the greatest possible satisfaction of the needs and desires of

Digitized by Google

the household compatible with a good life for its servants.' In other words, where the provision of a commodity or of a service inflicts injury upon those who provide it, either the system of production must be modified or the consumer most learn to do without. The needs and desires of the consumer are not an ultimate. They must bow, as they bowed during the war, before major considerations of human welfare. But, where these are not involved, the aim of the economic process is to satisfy demand.

What is involved in this recognition of the claim of a 'good life' for the producer? More than can be summed up in a brief discussion; but the most important element can be stated in a single word—Freedom. The main ground of criticism against the modern industrial system, and, let it at once be added, against many of its suggested alternatives, is their denial of individual freedom. By freedom is not meant democracy or representative government, or anything political at all; still less anything metaphysical. Much confusion has been caused by the use of 'freedom' in constitutional discussions, where the word 'responsibility' or 'self-government' would be more in place. In the task of giving precision to the terms used in the common field of philosophical and political discussion, freedom is best allocated to the subjective, rather than the objective sphere. We should learn to think of it, not as something enshrined or guaranteed in a political document, but as a quality or possession of the soul. A free country, a modern wit has said, using the word in its true sense, 'is a country in which any man can tell any other man to go to the devil.' Prof. Wallas has supplied an even briefer, if less homely, definition: 'Freedom is a continuous possibility of initiative.' Freedom, in this sense, is the mainspring of human life; it is the salt which gives it its zest and savour, the air which expands the lungs and braces the limbs. It is a mistaken diagnosis when men fix on poverty or insecurity as the root of the discontents in our modern society. St Francis was poor and yet radiantly happy; and the Founder of Christianity knew not where to lay his head from day to day. The cry for security and, still more, the craving for riches are substitutes, made by an inarticulate slave-mind, for a more vital

Digitized by Google

demand. No true man who has tried both would prefer slavery, cushioned by a bank balance, in a gilded cage, to liberty and all that liberty brings with it in the life of thought and feeling.

If the denial or diminution of liberty be really the canker of our age, it is important to bear in mind that the malady is not confined to the working-class only but infects our whole social system. Judged by this subjective test, the 'salariat' is almost as much enslaved as the proletariat; and the managing director, chained to his office desk for eight or ten hours a day, leading a life which in the expressive American definition is 'just one blessed thing after another,' is not in much better case. From the moment indeed that we have fixed a criterion of good housekeeping which includes 'a good life,' or the possibility of a good life, for the producer, we are involved, not, like Marx and his followers, in a criticism of the modern industrial system, but, like Ruskin and Morris, in a criticism of modern life as a whole. For it is not merely the capitalist and the 'master-class' who are implicated, but the consumer and all those in the modern community committed, by their current modes of living and thinking, to the philosophy, or the custom, that sets more value upon individual property than upon happiness, and assesses the civilisation and the 'greatness' of countries in terms of material wealth and power rather than of their achievements in the region of the spirit.

There is a vital issue to be found here which had better at once be stated. Ruskin and Morris looked out over the large-scale organisation of the modern world, with men and women fixed or revolving like cogs in an all-powerful mechanism, and declared that true freedom and happiness were not attainable under such conditions —that the remedy lay in a return to mediæval standards both in production and consumption. There is a large and important school of present-day industrialists and social thinkers who share their pessimism but draw a different conclusion. Accepting a joyless drudgery at mechanical tasks as an unalterable condition of modern civilisation for the majority of men and women, and being prepared to pay the price for the comforts and conveniences that it involves, this school sees in leisure,

Digitized by Google

and in leisure alone, the only possibility of freedom and happiness for the normal modern producer. In other words, they are prepared to acquiesce in the servile State. Men and women are to be chained like slaves to a dehumanising employment for the greater part of their day, and to be set free, after shortened hours, to seek the true expression of their personality in domesticity, recreation, and amusement.

For this school of opinion the question of securing a good life for the producer does not exist. The problem has been given up as insoluble. Between them and those who desire to humanise industry there is a straight issue—straighter perhaps than any of those round which so many wordy battles have raged between 'capitalist' and 'socialist.' But the advocates of leisure, realistic enough in their vision of industry, have not generally been realistic in their vision of the recreations in which the worker reacts against the deadening drudgery of his day. If they studied the evolution and course of modern commercialised systems of amusement in the urban centres of Europe and America, they might be less confident in their thesis that 'a noble use of leisure' is a natural, or even a possible, sequel to a dehumanising day. Man becomes the image and reflexion of that which he does; and, just as the sailor bears the open sea and the ostler the dumb companionship of the stable upon their speaking faces, so the machine-minder and the mill-girl carry into their choice of enjoyments, and even into their applause, the swift mechanical motions and the vacuous stare of the monsters to whom they make obeisance day by day. Too tired, or too dissipated, in the literal sense of that word, to love or to hate, to experience sorrow or pathos or any real thrill of feeling at all, they sit passive and inert, like the dead things they feed, and suffer themselves to be touched and tickled and played upon by the skilled entertainers on the stage or film, machine-minders like themselves.

Refusing, then, in the face of its inevitable dehumanising consequences, to acquiesce in the social philosophy implicit in 'scientific' thinkers of this type, we are brought back to the main problem which Ruskin and Morris sought to solve by an impracticable mediævalism—how to make modern large-scale industrialism

Digitized by Google

compatible with freedom. The problem thus presented is, as has already been indicated, not single but twofold. It implies both a criticism of modern industrial organisation and a criticism of modern society. In neither field can we hope to reach the simple solution or panacea for which men are always seeking. Both challenge us to a realistic enterprise of experiment, investigation, and imagination. But some suggestions of possible roads of advance towards a greater diffusion of freedom and happiness may be briefly given.

The majority of citizens in a modern community earn their livelihood by working for wages or salaries under conditions over which they have little or no control. They are cogs in a machine, items on a pay-sheet, instruments of production, the human raw material of large-scale undertakings, whether publicly or privately owned. Yet not only religion but customary morality teaches men to regard one another, not as instruments used to achieve other men's ends, but as individual human beings, and as 'ends in themselves.' The world of large-scale enterprise has been organised on a basis of wealth-production. It is not easy to readjust it so as to bring it into harmony with the unalterable rights of human nature, of which the claims of labour are an expression. In what directions can a beginning be made?

One way of relief lies through decentralisation. The word 'self-government' is misleading, since it suggests that an individual factory, sometimes even the manual workers in a factory, are in a position to exercise a determining control over the activity and function in which they are engaged. In point of fact, as the history of attempts at a real 'self-governing workshop' amply proves, an individual mill or factory can no more be dissociated from the general industry or commercial system of which it forms a part than an individual post-office or railway station. The record of the ruthless process which transformed the ideal of a Russia of local Soviets into one of the most highly centralised governments ever known is a useful commentary on the more unthinking aspirations for local self-government in industry. Closely examined, the decisions which have

Digitized by Google

to be taken in an individual business or factory, or even in the National Council of an industry—as Mr Goodrich's valuable study * of British conditions shows—are not comparable to the legislative activity of a Parliament but to the administrative activity of a Civil Service. They are concerned not with the *what*, but with the *how*—not as to whether the nation shall go to war, or grant self-government to Ireland, or disestablish the Church, or whether the factory shall manufacture soap or cotton-goods or cocoa, but as to the conditions under which an assumed and pre-existing activity shall be carried on. The use of such words as 'self-government' and 'democracy,' therefore, is apt to be misleading, and to give currency to analogies between industry and politics which the reformer will find it dangerous to press; for he will find, on comparing functions, that the 'opposite number' of his supposedly self-governing body of workers by hand or brain is not at Westminster, but among the skilled bureaucracy in Whitehall.

Nevertheless, when all this has been granted, there is a large field, of which Mr Rowntree's latest book, 'The Human Factor in Business,' gives examples in detail, for the extension of individual freedom and of democratic control over the conditions under which the daily task is carried on. The York Cocoa Factory, with its elaborate system of Joint Committees, may not be a Paradise—some may even be romantic enough to look wistfully back to the cocoa-less world of which the adjoining Minster remains an inspiring symbol—but to compare it with what the Swindon Works were at the time when Mr Alfred Williams,† a remarkably truthful and scholarly observer, was employed there, is to compare light with darkness. Of the elaborate structure of the Whitley scheme, with its National and District and Works Councils, it is the last-named which have maintained most vitality; for it is in the factory or shop itself, face to face with its infinitely various practical problems, that the lesson of corporate responsibility in industry is to be learnt, and the boon of freedom to be wrested from

* C. L. Goodrich, 'The Frontier of Control; a Study of British Workshop Politics.' New York, 1920.

† Author of 'Life in a Railway Factory.' London, 1915.

Digitized by Google

the forbidding material of modern production. There is room here for every kind of experiment; and enough has been achieved, both in Britain and America, to enable us to realise that the buildings in which the activities of modern industry are carried on need no longer bear resemblance, either in their outward form or in their inner spirit, to a barracks or a prison, but can and ought to be as dignified and ennobling, and as perfectly planned for their purpose, as other public buildings in which men and women are congregated for far fewer hours in the week.

A second way lies in the development of the possibilities of team-work. There are many physical processes—rowing is one of them—which lose their unpleasantness and even become agreeable when performed together with others, with the rhythm and swing of a social activity. The creative artist, indeed, of whom Ruskin and Morris were thinking, prefers to work alone, at his own pace and in his own way. But, in Anglo-Saxon communities, at any rate, he is a rare type; and there is enough experience to show that most men, and even many women, can find pleasure in an otherwise monotonous activity if it is pursued in a social atmosphere; Lancashire women who return to the loom after marriage, not for the money but for the company, are a case in point.

A third line of approach, all the more necessary if team-work is developed, lies through variety of occupation. We are accustomed to think of men and women as knowing only one language and possessing only one means of livelihood. We shall not be civilised, or relieved from the danger of wars arising from misunderstanding, until bi-lingualism is general; and to have an alternative occupation is as desirable, both for individual self-realisation and for social convenience, as to speak two languages. There are many occupations—University teaching is one of them—which, by the manner in which they are distributed through the year, offer the relief of a dual activity, of what may be called a double gear. How different is the rhythmical alternation of periods of term and vacation from the unnatural monotony of fifty weeks' continuous employment at a small task, followed by a hectic fortnight of bewildered

Digitized by Google

idleness! This is not Nature's way in her arrangement of the seasons, nor need it be man's way; and, as Prince Kropotkin pointed out years ago in his 'Fields, Factories, and Workshops,' there are numerous communities, as, for instance, agricultural villages equipped with cheap power, which have long since discovered how to adjust their economy to the needs of a two-gear existence.

Such suggestions open out a broad field of inquiry, into which the psychologists, too long confined to pedagogy and other formal studies, are at last beginning to penetrate. Prof. Myers' book* and the studies in industrial fatigue undertaken by Prof. Stanley Kent† and others, show that there is an increasing realisation that 'the occupation makes the man,' and that the mental and moral, as well as the physical, effects of work upon character and personality need careful study.

One last point must be mentioned, in a somewhat different field from the preceding—the need for publicity. At the recent Industrial Co-operation Conference in New York an address was delivered on 'Taking the Mystery out of Business.' A great deal of the suspicion and bad feeling, both between brain-workers and manual workers and between competitors in the same line of business, arises from undue secrecy. If industry and commerce are really to become great professions, they must learn, as the doctors have learned, to regard improvements in technique as contributions to the common stock. In so far as secrecy concerns, not the methods, but the profits of enterprise, the tendency will diminish in proportion as service rather than gain becomes, as with other professions, the dominating motive.

These brief indications are not put forward as a substitute for far-reaching changes in organisation, but to draw attention to problems, too long ignored, which have to be faced under any system of large-scale industry. The issue between public and private ownership will inevitably continue to be prominent; but recent experience will count for nothing if it continues to be discussed as an issue of principle and not of detail and

* 'Mind and Work.' London, 1920.

† 'Journal of Industrial Hygiene.' New York.

Digitized by Google

expediency. Behind it, as behind the suggestions put forward above, lies the fundamental issue of the transformation of motive, with all its implications of new possibilities of partnership between the two parties which, whether as 'employer' and 'employed,' or as 'management' and 'labour,' have too long worked rather on the discredited system of balance of power than according to a common programme of service. When industry and trade become real professions—and not till then—they will be in a position to employ Capital instead of being employed, and often exploited, by it.

It is not, however, inside the industrial system but in the wider field of politics that there is the most need for changes of the sweeping kind which the revolutionaries advocate for industry. Had the Socialist movement, from the forties onward, concentrated on constructive political effort rather than on an attack on the *entrepreneur*, it would have more laurels to show to-day for three-quarters of a century of fighting. Here again space permits but of the briefest indications. Why are so many workers dissatisfied with their work, apart altogether from the conditions under which it is carried on? There are three answers. Either because it is insufficiently paid in comparison with other occupations, and so enjoys inferior repute; or because it is not the work most suited to their capacities; or because it is of such a degrading character that no one would willingly undertake it.

Here are three separate problems, each of them not industrial but social. We shall not have a society of free men and women till our traditional valuations of employment have been transformed and the miner and the land-worker have lost their sense of being, in some mysterious way, inferior to the bank-clerk and the teacher. In England, at any rate, and still more in certain parts of the Continent, both social values and customary scales of remuneration and of living are being transformed very rapidly; and the day is perhaps not far distant when the young aristocrat who wishes to earn his livelihood by pruning fruit-trees or looking after cattle and horses will not need to cross the ocean to California or New Zealand in order to follow his bent. The far-reaching consequences of such a development

Digitized by Google

need not be traced further here. Why are there so many misfits in the field of industrial occupation? Because of our system of recruitment. The greater number of our industrial workers leave school so young that they have no real means of choosing their life-work. They are conscripts rather than volunteers. This fundamental evil, responsible, as the life-story of most 'agitators' would reveal, for so much discontent and so many tragedies of unfulfilled promise, cannot be redressed until whole-time education is extended to all up to the age of unfolding capacity—roughly, about sixteen.

Equalisation of the social prestige attaching to occupations, together with a real choice of vocation, under conditions permitting of experienced guidance, would go far to diffuse among the modern working population the sense of freedom and happiness with which the Athenians were able to infect even the slaves who laboured on their Acropolis. But there remains the question of 'drudgery'—of work so degrading and dehumanising, not from the conditions of its organisation but from its very nature, that it infects the free men who perform it, however well paid, with a sense of servitude and dishonour. That there are such occupations cannot be doubted by those who have adventured nose, eyes, and ears into some of our hives of production; nor can it be asserted of most of them that they can be dispensed with in the life of the community. For such tasks there is but one remedy consistent with the standards of our civilisation and of our democratic constitution. Inherently servile, they cannot be allowed to remain the whole-time occupation of any citizen. They must be scheduled and analysed and then assigned for short periods to conscripts. Industrial conscription, as William James long ago pointed out, is the key, both to the diffusion of a democratic spirit of industrial service and to the problem of 'dirty work.' Bulgaria, unaware perhaps of the high philosophic authority for the policy, has already embarked on the experiment, rendered possible by the abolition of her conscript army, of conscribing her young people, young men and women alike, for labour service. Inexorable logic and practical expediency will drive other nations, sooner or later, along the same road; and it may not be long before the

Digitized by Google

familiar armchair grumblers at the laziness of miners and navvies will risk being sharply recalled to reality by some younger club member who has known in his own person what it is to hew coals or to break stones. The war, which transformed so many of our values, has helped here too to blaze for us a new trail.

One final objection must be met. 'All this,' we shall be told, 'may be very well; but, so long as existing inequalities of wealth persist, custom and riches, acting in alliance, will prove too strong for you. In the modern world, ideas are but wind; it is Wealth that is Power. Thus, evade it as you say, you will be brought up, in the last analysis, against those barons of the purse whom you appear to desire rather to convert than to dethrone.' It is true that Wealth is Power, and that the existing inequalities of capital and of income in the industrial countries are infinitely exacerbating to social relations. Lands like Switzerland and Norway where, until recently, such glaring contrasts were unknown, have had a happier and more truly democratic history. But to recognise, and to seek to remedy, the inequalities of wealth in the community is one thing; to make it the heart and centre of a general scheme of industrial reform is another. Inequalities of wealth constitute, not an industrial but a political problem, a problem of taxation. There are many kinds of rich men; some have worked for their riches; others have made them by speculation; others have had their riches thrust upon them by the fortune of inheritance or even of marriage. To concentrate attention upon the 'profiteer,' who is generally identified with the successful *entrepreneur*, is to narrow and to distort the problem. The successful *entrepreneur* may be overpaid, in comparison with the poet and the preacher, the professor and the public servant, for the particular combination of insight, rapid decision and organising ability which enables him to 'steer a waggon of coal into the factory'; but at least, as we should never fail to remind him, he is rendering a public service. If his remuneration tends to be, and to remain even under a changed system of social values, unusually high, let him pay his due, like all other possessors of wealth, in an all-round system of taxation. After all, the real root of social inequality is to be found, not in earned

Digitized by Google

wealth, however imposing may be the fortune of this or that parvenu millionaire, but in inherited wealth; and the real road to social equality is through a drastic system of inheritance taxes or Death Duties.

This, however, is a suggestion which must not be further developed here; and in any case it carries us back to the dominating problem of the transformation of motive; for, if it be really true in England, as it certainly is not in the United States, that the creative artists who find an outlet for their genius in supplying their fellow-citizens with the goods and services of civilisation, from railways and motor-cars to the newspaper on the breakfast-table, do so, not for the joy of skilled achievement but in order to leave enough to their children to tempt them to idleness, then there may still be danger in pressing forward practical policies too far in advance of the motives indispensable to their success. One thing, however, is clear, that, unless this transformation of motive is effected, and effected rapidly, in Britain among the employing and managing classes, and rendered possible by social legislation and by changed conditions among the manual workers, and unless the philosophy which regards work as drudgery and leisure as the true life is refuted not merely in word but in deed, British trade and industry will emerge diminished and dishonoured from the crisis of the post-war generation; and the privilege of supremacy in this particular form of service to mankind, so congenial to our character and traditions, will pass to others more ready to read the signs of the times and more eager to respond to them.

A. E. ZIMMERN.

Digitized by Google

Art. 5.—THE ADAMS FAMILY.

1. *Chapters of Erie and Other Essays.* By Charles Francis Adams, Jr, and Henry Adams. Boston: Osgood, 1871.
2. *Studies Military and Diplomatic.* By Charles Francis Adams, Jr. New York: Macmillan, 1911.
3. *Charles Francis Adams. An Autobiography.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916.
4. *The Education of Henry Adams.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918.
5. *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres.* By Henry Adams. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918.
6. *A Cycle of Adams Letters.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920.

And other works.

THE Adams family belongs specifically to Massachusetts, but its reputation is national. It stands as the one example of transmitted qualities employed for four generations in public service. For nearly two centuries the family has remained in the public eye, and has held its prominence in the many changes from a state of colonial dependence to that of a democracy composed of many peoples, in which the very variety of tradition and experience defies united thought or action. To explain the later Adamses, a glance must be given to the earlier generations.

John Adams, of colonial days, stood second in a group of lawyers who left a reputation for learning in the law. Something more than a lawyer, he studied the art of government, pursuing his investigations into the history of ancient republics, and of the Italian cities, nearer in time and more fruitful in example. He was so advanced an advocate of rebellion from the mother-country that he became for a time an object of suspicion to his colleagues, yet circumstances proved his prescience. They sent him to Europe on diplomatic service, where he dealt with questions of finance with success and an ability as marked as that he showed in the joint task of obtaining a peace that recognised the independence of the States. The first 'continental' Minister to St James's, he faced exacting duties, and met the many

Digitized by Google

difficulties arising from political prudence and financial cupidity with discretion and good results. The States were united only in their foreign relations; at home their alarming weakness and jealousies threatened disaster. To independence from Great Britain must be added union among themselves. To that John Adams made no direct contribution. The constitution of Massachusetts was chiefly of his drafting, but his essays on the American constitutions were interpreted in a hostile spirit, as though they favoured aristocracy. He returned to America to become Vice-President and President. After four years of service, the Opposition or Jefferson republicanism won, and Adams retired to Quincy to pass twenty-five years in retirement. His pen had been active in every position he had occupied, and it was not a discreet pen. His reputation rests upon his high character; incorruptible, fearless, and combative, he never had a following in political life.

The son, John Quincy Adams, passed through a training as severe as that of John Stuart Mill, and seemed from the beginning to be destined to a public career. In close imitation of his father, he was in succession Minister to Holland, Germany, and Russia, a negotiator at Ghent, the first American Minister at St James's after the peace of 1814, Secretary of State, and President—a training enjoyed by none of his contemporaries. His presidency came at a time when the leading problems entailed by Independence had been settled. His one great suggestion of public policy—that the natural resources of the country should be held and developed as a national fund to meet the expenses of government—was rejected by the people, intent upon individual control. Like his father, Adams was denied a second term. In place of retiring to rust in unemployment, he represented Massachusetts in the national House of Representatives, and for seventeen years fought the cause of freedom against the South, winning a greater reputation than he had gained in all his previous service. As Secretary of State he formulated the 'Monroe doctrine,' proposed the abolition of privateering, planned a series of treaties to abolish war, and welcomed the dawn of independence of Spanish South America. Truly a man of broad vision.

Digitized by Google

There followed years of domination by a democracy controlled by the West and South. The favourite son of John Quincy Adams—Charles Francis Adams—would have followed in the footsteps of his father and grandfather had the opportunity offered. Times had altered, and Massachusetts was not so potent in national politics. The younger Adams served with honour in the State legislature; he edited a Whig paper at a time when that party was divided between the 'cotton Whigs,' favouring Southern claims on slavery, and the 'conscience Whigs,' opposed to an extension of slave territory. Charles Sumner, then in his best days, represented the party of freedom; and Mr Adams, of the same party, became a member of Congress in 1859, when Southern influence was strongest. At once recognised as a valuable member, he served on important committees to frame a measure that would prevent secession. The election of Lincoln destroyed all hope of reconciliation between the two sections. War ensued; and Adams, like his father and his grandfather, became American Minister at St James's. His conduct in that position gained for him the confidence of all, and led to his becoming a member of the Geneva court of arbitration. Only an accident prevented his being President of the United States.

For three generations members of this Adams family received the highest public honour, without appealing to the vulgar tricks of politics. One member in each generation had been set aside and devoted, as it were, to public office—and its sacrifice. It implied recognition of merit. The legal mind of John Adams was a needed restraint on the demagogues of his day. No man came to the State Department or Presidency better equipped in knowledge and experience than John Quincy Adams. But the necessary faculty of managing men, of creating or of guiding a party, was denied to him as it had been denied to his father. The position of a candidate implies a bowing to popular will; and that neither man would do. Charles Francis Adams did not owe his great opportunities to the people. By his time the fortunes of the family seemed divorced from popular suffrage. His greater honours rested on executive appointment.

In the fourth generation no less than three members

Digitized by Google

of the family gained reputation, of whom two now call for notice—Charles Francis, Jr, and Henry, sons of Charles Francis Adams, the Minister. They passed through much the same formative years in school and Harvard College. Charles Adams believed he had derived advantage from the college, but it was not from the teaching he received or influence of teachers. Henry Adams did not look back upon his college career with satisfaction, claiming that he had not received from it what was properly his due. On graduating, Charles began to study law in the office of Richard H. Dana, a man of distinction and high legal talent. He was not enthusiastic about his profession; in fact, like John Quincy Adams, he had a positive distaste for it; so he tried writing for the newspapers on public questions, at first as a diversion, soon with serious purpose. The atmosphere of the home was political, for the father was a recognised power in that section of the Whigs which was later to form the strength of the Republican party. Henry Adams determined to study civil law in Germany. What he really studied was the German language and life in Germany; and he too could never show enthusiasm for either civil law or anything that was German, except music. He had hit upon a study that was as much a misfit as his brother's selection of the law. Yet even at this time, at Antwerp, he 'felt his middle ages and the 16th century alive,' and he received a lasting impression of mediæval Rome, destined to colour his later life. Returning to the United States he became his father's secretary in Washington.

Neither had yet found his bent; and, of the two, Henry appeared destined to follow his father into public life. In the event their immediate careers were to be imposed upon them, for the war between the States intervened and gave new direction to half-formed ambitions. Washington was the political centre. While the South was ripe for secession, the North drifted, unconscious of the seriousness of the situation, without a policy to fit the crisis, and resorting to compromises which created a false sense of security and in the end precipitated the conflict. Henry Adams, thus brought into immediate contact with public affairs under the best of auspices, wrote for the press, undoubtedly reflecting the views of his father, yet showing sufficient

Digitized by Google

independence to indicate ability to think for himself. When he accompanied his father to London to serve as his private secretary, though unrecognised by the Government, it was an experience beyond pay or recognition. Again he corresponded anonymously with a New York journal, until an accident gave him a notoriety, dangerous not so much to himself as to the interests of the Legation. Thrown back upon himself and possessing the secrets of the Minister, he studied, read widely, observed and digested, without trusting his thoughts to paper, except to his brother Charles, to whom he wrote often and freely. These letters, printed in the 'Cycle,' are marked by a power of expression that altered but little during his life. He criticised freely and sharply and without giving an impression of extravagance. To say that he had the example of a father of exquisite balance and self-contained to a fault constantly before him is no explanation. Even the elder Adams could 'dance across the hall' on good news from America. The poise which belonged to the college student, the New Englander's strength, Henry says, remained to qualify his opinions and judgment at a time when the Minister confidently expected dismissal. The 'Education' abounds in good portraits of public characters both in the United States and in England; and the 'Cycle' proves the readiness with which such impressions became fixed in words. Almost thirty years divide the record made at the time and the matured judgment of the 'Education.' There is a difference chiefly in treatment, but the essentials remain unchanged.

The years in London produced a lasting effect upon Henry Adams. They fixed qualities of mind already taking form, gave a decided bent to his tastes, and supplied him with a measure for judging the standards of other peoples—an international measure. Not that he was markedly English. He grew to like London, as Dr Johnson had liked it; he enjoyed English society, or rather one side of it; he valued the solid construction of English polity. But by inheritance he could never become really English in feeling or sympathy. His father, educated at an English school, owed in great part his success to that training; he understood the English attitude; but as a descendant of John and John

Digitized by Google

Quincy Adams he had imbibed views on British policy and methods which he handed down to his sons. This was not due to prejudice, but to knowledge resting upon history, as his position on the Trent affair proved. Yet Henry Adams could not but absorb something that only England could offer; and the most positive acquisition was a taste for science. Through Sir Charles Lyell he became interested in geology, and he drank deep of the influence of Darwin, whom he followed not from conviction, but because the authority of the Darwinians interested him. With much time to himself for reading, he speculated on many subjects, and not infrequently on himself. Writing in February 1862, he said:

'You find fault with my desponding tone of mind. So do I. But the evil is one that probably lies where I can't get at it. I've disappointed myself, and experience the curious sensation of discovering myself to be a humbug. How is this possible? Do you understand how, without a double personality, *I* can feel that *I* am a failure? One would think that the *I* which could feel that, must be a different *ego* from the *I* of which it is felt.'

And again:

'The more I see, the more I am convinced that a man whose mind is balanced like mine, in such a way that what is evil never seems unmixed with good, and what is good always streaked with evil—an object seems never important enough to call out strong energies till they are exhausted, nor necessary enough not to allow of its failure being possible to retrieve—in short, a mind which is not strongly positive and absolute, cannot be steadily successful in action, which requires quietness and perseverance. I have steadily lost faith in myself ever since I left college; and my aim is now so indefinite that all my time may prove to have been wasted, and then nothing left but a truncated life.'

In the meanwhile Charles Adams had laid aside his law pursuits and entered the army. 'For years our family,' he wrote to his father, 'has talked of slavery and of the South, and been most prominent in the contest of words, and now that it has come to blows does it become us to stand aloof from the contest?' Admitting that he was not a soldier by nature—for he hated war in itself and the destruction it involved—and that no

Digitized by Google

military career offered him a permanency, he was eager to participate, instinctively recognising that the camp was for him the best of training-schools. It compelled him to mix with men. His army experience—'altogether the most beneficial of my life educationally,' he once said—is fully described in the 'Cycle of Adams Letters,' and was more notable for its effects upon himself than for military achievement. In these letters, written to his family without a thought of publication, the expression is natural and vigorous, the descriptions of camp life and cavalry service are vivid and picturesque. Conscientious in the performance of duty, he was considerate of his men and horses, regardful of the lives and property of the captured enemy, self-sacrificing when friend or regiment could be bettered. Under trying conditions he preserved discipline and schooled a naturally high-strung nature to subordinate itself to authority. He gained the confidence of his men and the respect of his associates, and so organised and trained his company or regiment as to win the praise of his superiors and offers of higher commands and staff appointments. He took the service as it came, without complaint and without shirking responsibility.

Mentally he had grown. With an active, questioning mind, certainty of judgment came slowly; and in a rush of rumours, intrigue, and impressions, even older heads went wrong and uttered foolishness. Charles Adams favoured some strange heroes who were in time to be shown inefficient or dishonest; he criticised severely men who made mistakes but who also repaired them and in so doing proved their own merit; he made predictions that in twenty-four hours were disproved, and planned campaigns which assumed so many favourable factors as to be unable to withstand a mild check. This was all natural, evidence of a mind trying its powers without the test of immediate responsibility and punishment for error. His military life closed with his leading his negro regiment into Richmond on the day when the Southern army evacuated the city. In four years he had seen the North aroused from its stupor; he had seen raw recruits changed into soldiers, a great army organised, negroes disciplined and regimented, slave labour become free and applied to cotton

Digitized by Google

culture, the economy of the South revolutionised, rebellion put down and the cause of freedom advanced. In this he had taken his part. As to himself, he had become as much of a democrat as was possible, but he had remained 'individual,' not seeing or taking things 'quite in the usual way.' Altogether an attractive character, still in process of development.

The training in youth fitted both men for useful public careers, but no opportunity to exercise their ability offered. Diplomacy has not been a 'career' under the American Government, and has established no system of promotion or of permanency. To be a Secretary of Legation for a few years is not enough, when neither advance in office nor public favour abroad or at home is to be expected. The army in peace offered no place for one who was not by nature fitted to be a soldier, loving his profession and mindful of possible wars to come; and the army of the United States, on its peace establishment, gave little room even for the true soldier. The two young men, politically inclined, had passed some of their best years in positions of responsibility, conscious of exerting some power and influence over others. Both entertained the idea of continuing this influence and of becoming, like their ancestors, leaders of policy and servants of the public. Nevertheless from this time their paths diverged widely.

The war had settled the question of Union of the States, and had raised conditions and problems of government of the highest importance. Had Lincoln lived, Charles Francis Adams, the elder, would have been Secretary of the Treasury. In view of that possibility both the sons studied national finance, Henry through English experience under the Bank Restriction Act, Charles through the confusion of taxation, currency, and speculative fever before his eyes. The general condition of the country must first be improved; and the railroads and questions of transportation constituted the vital factor in that improvement. With good judgment Charles Adams selected that as his field, and began with a study of the recent history of the Erie Railroad, a shocking example of the sacrifice of a public utility to the unmeasured greed of stock-gamblers. If

Digitized by Google

such abuse of power were allowed to persist, it would mean the overthrow of free institutions. His exposure of the scandal rendered great service, advanced reform, and brought deserved reputation. Massachusetts led the way by creating a State Railroad Commission, appointing Mr Adams a commissioner. In ten years of office, most of the time as chairman and writer of the reports, he gave it such a standing that similar commissions in other States studied it as a model. His principle was simple—publicity, 'an appeal to an enlightened public opinion, based on facts elicited by a fair-minded public investigation.' He carried this principle into every phase of railroad administration, and sought to establish general rules which could produce order and a sense of responsibility in railroad management, and thus win the confidence of the investor. It was a notable achievement, and constitutes his chief contribution to practical administration.

He was essentially a 'reformer' and a battling one, eager to attack an abuse, fertile in suggestion for correcting it. The element of popularity never seems to have entered his mind; the existence of the abuse once proved, that was enough. For more than thirty-five years, in the slow correction of conditions left by the war, no progressive movement failed to enlist his sympathy and active participation. The list would be a long one—currency, tariff, civil-service reform, taxation, liberal republicanism, third or independent parties, anti-imperialism in national affairs; schools, park systems, university administration, and town government in local matters. To each he contributed, and so came to be classed among the small number of men who could be counted upon when action outside of party promised improvement, and when independence required courage and sacrifice. In all this activity he never ran for office, and rarely enjoyed the pleasurable reaction of immediate success.

As neither business nor reform movements monopolised his energy, he turned to the writing of history—his natural avocation as it proved. He had the historical mind. He represented a type different from the older school of Massachusetts historians, better equipped for the monograph than for general history. Accuracy, a

Digitized by Google

grasp of principle, a breadth of judgment, and a vigorous expression give to his historical work a personal impress unmatched, and the same qualities made him a good biographer. Under the title 'Three Episodes of Massachusetts History' he wrote the history of a locality—the town of Quincy, Massachusetts—a model of its kind. His side studies to that work—the tragedy of Ann Hutchinson and the comedy of Morton of Merrymount—as well as a 'Life of Richard Henry Dana,' proved his capacity to interpret character. President of an historical society that was suffering from an absence of initiative, he so invigorated it as to place it again in the first rank of such bodies. It would be difficult to define his influence and even to indicate in how many directions he exerted it.

The individual note made itself felt in what he wrote. The earlier Adamses were described by their opponents as 'contrary-minded'; and the quality was handed down to their descendants. But it was not destructive criticism only, for Mr Adams could frame a new presentation, equal to the old, if not better. An instance is to be found in his whole-hearted acceptance of General Robert E. Lee of the Confederacy. The time was come to recognise the end of the Civil War, to lay aside the remains of bitter memories, and to accept the full result of the conflict; but few in the North could make even the first advance to a better understanding, fearing a political recoil on their fortunes. Mr Adams took the highest stand possible. He recognised the right of the South to secede, because the American constitution had not decided whether sovereignty resided in State or Nation. Lee sacrificed all to maintain his allegiance to Virginia; and Mr Adams asserted he would have done the same himself under the like conditions. He defended Lee's plan of campaign, and refused to admit that he was defeated in the field. It was the blockade of the South, and the failure of the South to compel intervention through the cotton famine in Lancashire, that defeated the Army of Virginia. The man who had rested under the stigma of traitor, who represented all that the political orator of the North dwelt upon as offensive and criminal in the war, Mr Adams accepted as a great soldier and a man of the highest character. A fine tribute to a former enemy, it involved a re-examination of the leading

Digitized by Google

features of the war and a condemnation of the policy of reconstruction that followed peace.

During the war both of the brothers had speculated upon their futures and the part they wished to play. Charles, with more direct and practical decision, believed his opportunity was in literature and politics, using the term in its best sense; Henry looked to a residence in Washington, connexion with public men, a reform movement and journalism. If Henry seriously entertained hope of public employment and of helpful criticism in Washington the trend of events destroyed it. The presidency of Grant and the policy of the Republican party reduced attempted reform in administration to a farce. An assistant professorship in Harvard University, to teach mediæval history, was offered and taken with reluctance. With the appointment came the editorship of the 'North American Review,' then the organ of intellectual America, having a circulation pitiably small but an influence much beyond its circulation. Here at least was action, though Henry persisted in proclaiming his own unfitness to teach, and the 'Review' imposed labour while preventing him from writing. As a teacher he gained a following, but at the end of five years he resigned his chair in the University and returned to Washington. Here he could be an observer and could write history.

Of his 'History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison,' it is not possible to speak too highly. It was the first American history to have an adequate foreign background, bearing out his theory: 'For history, international relations are the only sure standards of movement, the only foundation for a map. For this reason, Adams had always insisted that international relation was the only sure base for a chart of history.' In applying this principle he delved in European archives; he wrote biographies of Albert Gallatin and John Randolph of Roanoke, as side-studies; and he accumulated a great body of unused material. It all resulted in a brilliantly written essay in nine volumes on a political chapter of American history, at once accepted as authoritative and well-nigh final. Incidentally, in following the tortuous foreign policy of Jefferson and Madison, deceived and played with as they

Digitized by Google

were by Canning and Napoleon, he offered a full defence of the policy of John Adams, at the time rejected by the people and derided by the political leaders of all parties.

He had no further interest in American history, unless it were in geology; and there no opportunity offered. American science is practical; and to Henry Adams that was its least inviting aspect. Occupied he must be, and there revived in him an interest in mediæval history, not as mere antiquarian research but as a study with a distinct end in view. The first conception was almost whimsical. If mind is a form of energy, it should be measurable as all other forms of energy are. As social progress is largely controlled by mind, cannot the movement be established and accelerated, or retardation laid down on a scale? To chart in terms of force finance, politics, physics, and philosophy, were it possible, would place an instrument of incalculable efficiency in the hands of the historian. Man as a force must be measured by motion, from a fixed point.

'Eight or ten years of study had led Adams to think he might use the century 1150–1250, expressed in Amiens Cathedral and the Works of Thomas Aquinas, as the unit from which he might measure motion down to his own time, without assuming anything as true or untrue, except relation. The movement might be studied at once in philosophy and mechanics. Setting himself to the task, he began a volume which he mentally knew as "Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres: a Study of Thirteenth-Century Unity." From that point he proposed to fix a position for himself, which he could label: "The Education of Henry Adams: a Study of Twentieth-Century Multiplicity." With the help of these two points of relation he hoped to project his lines forward and backward indefinitely, subject to correction from any one who should know better.'

His 'Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres' formed the first section of his plan. As a tourist—an ignorant tourist, who may attempt an explanation, while confessing his impotence in the face of what he does explain—he sets out from the Mount to go to Chartres on a pilgrimage that in time and space produces an impressive picture of a world-epoch. The purpose was 'to get, on the way, not technical knowledge; not accurate information; not

Digitized by Google

correct views either on history, art, or religion; not anything that can possibly be useful or instructive; but only a sense of what those centuries had to say, and a sympathy with their way of saying it.' Taking architecture as an expression of energy, he reads into stone and glass the spirit of the time which built these churches. Taking it as history before taking it as art, in a series of essays on mediæval history he interprets actual accomplishments in design, colour, and sculpture. Shapes and towers represent social symbols, a reflexion of the society that builds. The sequence of expression is clearly defined; 'after the eleventh-century Romanesque church of St Michael came the twelfth-century Transition church of the Virgin [at Chartres], and all merged and ended at last in the thirteenth-century Gothic cathedral of the Treaty [at Beauvais].' An imposing procession of royal, churchly, and literary characters passes. Poetry, industries, and saintly schools of philosophy contribute each its part. In this volume he reached his highest powers. The pages glow with colour, as do the windows at Chartres, and are redolent of true devotional spirit, as were the churches of that century. The chapter is complete, his most finished product, and the best evidence of his many-sided ability.

When he approached the second section of his plan—the 'Education of Henry Adams'—difficulties arose. No tourist, ignorant or otherwise, could act as spokesman; and an autobiography alone would not have served the set purpose. A compromise in form was imposed from the beginning. Adams sought to detach himself from the course of events and to become a mere observer, with the result of involving himself more intimately with the story than if he had frankly used the first person. At every turn he meets the reader with an assurance of ignorance and failure that tends to become wearisome. Then, too, however interesting the man is, the circumstances do not lend themselves to the same free plan as was followed in 'Mont-Saint-Michel.' Democracy in the United States was not picturesque before the Civil War, nor did it become so after. It expressed itself in material growth, a wonderful chapter in itself, but offering little play for a corresponding development in art and literature. To attempt a parallel is almost

Digitized by Google

grotesque—wealth and the Virgin, railroads and cathedrals, Grant or Fisk or the American woman and queens or bishops, the dynamo and radio-activity for the energy of God, the scientist for St Thomas of Aquinas. As an autobiography of a cultivated New Englander it stands high; as history it is accurate; as a picture of society it is keen and just; its style carries it of itself; but as a scheme of personal delineation it conveys a distortion, and, in place of a formula of energy by which social movement may be measured and expressed, there are suggested a 'dynamic theory of history' and a 'law of acceleration' which did not become more convincing when developed in two later essays.* From the purely scientific point of view the 'Education' is unsatisfying, leaving the impression of an incomplete accomplishment, suggesting a near approach to the solution of Adams' problem but in fact falling far short of success. 'True ignorance approaches the infinite more nearly than any amount of knowledge can do.' With an education unequalled in opportunity, Adams claimed to be uneducated; with recognised achievements in a number of directions, he announced himself as a failure. Unsparing and depreciating introspection has produced a portrait that puzzles while it invites. The man acts as devil's advocate on his own career.

Thus each brother left a distinct impress upon his generation. Consciousness of family had been strong in their ancestors and had not ceased to act. Both would have been glad to serve the public, but it must be as independents, not bound to the wheel of party. The procession of public men in Washington for a generation after the Civil War offered little that was inspiring and much that was questionable. The period was poor in purpose and, from the point of progress, barren of results. American society had outgrown a good part of its institutions; and the special task of the day called for the creation of others, better adapted to advance the best of existing conditions. It was not in public life that the Adamses were to act. Charles Adams, as a

* 'Letter to Teachers of History' (1910), republished after his death in 1919, and an essay on 'The Rule of Phase applied to History,' as 'The Degradation of Democratic Dogma.'

Digitized by Google

fighting reformer, exerted a wide influence but never found a party willing to accept his lead. Henry Adams, shunning the arena of politics, used his powers in interpreting history and in registering his impressions of the social movement. Both succeeded in literature, but both were as isolated politically as their ancestors had been, and for the same cause. To the student of American history there has appeared a drift from national to local importance. When the States were bounded on the west by the Mississippi River, even down to the time of the Civil War, leaders were national or at least sectional in their attitudes. They acted as if they represented the South, the West, or the nation, and gave the impression of breadth and, so far as State interests were involved, of detachment. The Adamses had all been of national measure and had ever subordinated local to national interests. To them Massachusetts represented only one of the interested parties; and, if that State claimed that its demands should be met without regard to the interests of the other States, an Adams would decide against Massachusetts. Such conduct produced opposition in the State, but it recommended the family in national matters. After the Civil War local interests grew in influence and dictated policies and the men to make them effective. This involved a loss in personality but a gain in power to reach a desired end. It resulted in a distrust of ideals, an ignorance of the past and a worship of success.

Exclusion from a public career fostered a family trait which has enriched American history and example—the habit of self-examination. In that respect the record extends through four generations, beginning with the outspoken letters of John Adams and ending with the equally frank autobiographies of his great-grandsons. No Adams has spared himself; and there are chapters which read like the agony of a sinful and contrite soul when alone with its Creator. The influence of Puritan New England, an exaggeration of English Puritanism, is seen in this, but it is also seen in the succession of men of conscience and complete moral consistency.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Digitized by Google

Art. 6.—THE POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF AGRICULTURE.

1. *Report of the Agricultural Policy Sub-Committee.* [Cd. 9078.]
2. *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture,* 1919–20. [Cmd. 345.]
3. *Agriculture Act,* 1920: *Repeal Act,* 1921.
4. *Agriculture after the War.* By A. D. Hall. Murray, 1917.
5. *The Future of our Agriculture.* By Henry W. Wolff. King, 1918.
6. *The Land and its Problems.* By Christopher Turnor. Methuen, 1921.
7. *A New Agricultural Policy.* By F. E. Green. Parsons, 1921.
8. *The Labour Party and the Countryside.* Issued by the Labour Party.

THE position of British agriculture at the beginning of 1922 is, in many respects, more unsatisfactory than it has been for a quarter of a century. It has been the victim of a combination of circumstances for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in its long and chequered history. In the past, it has frequently suffered from the vagaries of the weather, notably in 1879. It has endured much tribulation from changes in economic conditions, as in the last twenty years of the 19th century. It has been confronted with drastic alterations in national policy, as in 1846. The year 1921 will be memorable as one in which all three causes—climatic, economic, political—combined to create difficulties for the agriculturist.

Of the British climate nothing new can be said, and anything that might be said would be futile. But at least the weather of 1921 was not altogether ill-disposed. If the long drought brought trouble, it also made amends to the farmer in a fine and quick harvest and an autumn unusually favourable for work on the land. In any case, those who live by the land are prepared for anything in the way of meteorological conditions, and are neither surprised nor alarmed by what the seasons may bring.

The economic *débâcle* from which the country suffered,

Digitized by Google

and is suffering, fell heavily upon agriculture. The value of their produce dropped abruptly, and a large proportion, at least, was sold at less than the cost of production. It is little consolation to know that every other trade and industry was similarly affected, and that in many of them the depreciation of values and the losses both of income and capital have been even heavier. Few, if any, foresaw the severity of the 'slump,' although many had realised that it was inevitable. Taking the year 1921 as a whole, prices realised were not unsatisfactory. The average prices per quarter of wheat, barley, and oats for the past six years, as compared with the pre-war level, were as follows:

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
1913	31	8	27	8	19	1
1916	58	5	53	6	33	5
1917	75	9	64	9	49	10
1918	72	10	59	0	49	4
1919	72	11	75	9	52	5
1920	80	10	89	5	56	10
1921	71	6	52	2	34	2

The corn averages for a calendar year necessarily include part of two crops, and in the case of 1921 include two distant and widely different price levels. The averages for December 1921 were: Wheat, 44*s.* 7*d.*; Barley, 45*s.* 7*d.*; Oats, 28*s.* 1*d.*

The break in prices of farm products began about the middle of the year. The Official Index number representing the changes in the level of market prices of all the main classes of agricultural produce stood in January 1921 at 286, the average of the three years 1911–13 being 100. In other words, farmers' receipts were generally 186 per cent. larger than before the war. By the month of June 1921, they had fallen to 102 per cent., and by January of this year to 79 per cent. above the pre-war level.

The year 1921 will, however, be most memorable as that in which agriculture endured the heaviest blow ever dealt to it by a British Government. Never had the agricultural interest received such earnest assurances of assistance, such emphatic protestations of sympathy. Pledges in the most definite form were given by the Prime Minister and other members of the Government,

Digitized by Google

and embodied in an Act which was passed by large majorities. An agricultural policy was thus framed and endorsed with every demonstration that it was regarded as of vital importance to the nation. The one supreme merit claimed for it, whatever defects in detail it might possess, was that it was permanent; and Parliament was invited to insert a very unusual, if not unprecedented, provision which, so far as was consistent with constitutional practice, pledged it not to alter the Act without giving four years' notice. There were certain sceptical persons who were not impressed by this imposing parade of resolution, and who warned farmers that in any case no pledges, however solemn, could bind the next Government or the next Parliament. But even the most cynical refrained from suggesting their repudiation by the same Government and the same Parliament. The policy and the pledges were, however, abandoned and repudiated within six months—one of the most remarkable examples of tergiversation in political history. And perhaps even more remarkable still was the fact that the Prime Minister and the late Minister for Agriculture, who had made themselves prominently responsible for the policy, left the explanation of the Government's action to the present Minister of Agriculture, who had no personal responsibility for the policy.

The Agriculture Act, which received the Royal Assent on Dec. 23, 1920, re-enacted the provisions of the Corn Production Act, 1917, with certain modifications. The Act of 1917 guaranteed for every acre of wheat and oats produced the payment of a sum equal, in the case of wheat to four times, and in the case of oats five times, the difference between the average market price and the following prices per quarter:

	Wheat.		Oats.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
1917	60	0	38	6
1918–19 . . .	55	0	82	0
1920–22 . . .	45	0	24	0

In the place of this scale the Agriculture Act substituted a scheme which involved a calculation—by Commissioners appointed for the purpose—of the cost of production of wheat and oats in each year, and of the

Digitized by Google

extent to which the cost differed from that of the 'standard' year 1919. The minimum prices in each year to be substituted for those in the Corn Production Act were to be such sums as were calculated to bear the same relation to the prices of the 'standard' year—i.e. Wheat, 68*s.* per 504 lbs.; Oats, 46*s.* per 336 lbs.—as the calculated difference in the cost of production.

In a Memorandum (Cmd. 741) laid before the House of Commons explaining the financial provisions of the Agriculture Bill, the hope was expressed that it would 'stimulate production and secure an increased acreage of wheat and oats in the United Kingdom.' It was suggested that the wheat area might be increased from 2,370,000 acres (at which it stood in 1919) to 4,000,000 acres, and the oats area from 5,118,000 acres to 6,000,000 acres. If these hopes were fulfilled it was pointed out that a difference of 1*s.* between the minimum and the average price would involve a payment from the Exchequer of 2,300,000*l.* It is evident that market prices in this country are not dependent upon, and do not follow closely, the cost of production, although in the long run the cost of production must be adjusted to the price. But the assumption that in the same year cost of production and prices would move so harmoniously that the difference, on the basis of calculation adopted, would not exceed 1*s.* per quarter was singularly optimistic. It was stated in the Memorandum, quite truly, that it was 'impossible to forecast accurately the probable liability on public funds in respect of the guaranteed minimum prices,' although it was added that 'there seems no likelihood of prices falling at any time to anything approaching the pre-war figures.' As regards immediate liability, the confident statement was made that 'there is no likelihood of any such fall in the world prices of wheat as would render the guarantee operative in respect of the 1921 crop.' As regards oats, however, it was admitted that the average market price 'might fall to a figure which would render the guarantee operative in the financial year 1922–23.'

Within three or four months after the passing of the Act it became apparent to the most casual observer of the economic situation that the expectations of the Government would be falsified, and that the liability

Digitized by Google

they had undertaken would involve substantial payments. Taking the view that the Agriculture Act was a bargain with farmers, negotiations were opened with the National Farmers' Union; and an agreement was made that the Act should be repealed in consideration of a payment in respect of the 1921 crop of 3*l.* per acre for wheat and 4*l.* per acre for oats, the provision of a sum of 1,000,000*l.* for agricultural education and research, and the retention of Part II of the Act, which is for the exclusive benefit of tenant farmers. The other parties concerned in the 'settled agricultural policy' of the Government were the agricultural labourers and the State. The former had secured the benefit of a legal minimum wage, and the latter had received some degree of assurance that agricultural land should be properly cultivated.

Out of the wreckage of the agricultural policy, which had been announced with so much enthusiasm and acclaimed with so much fervour, there has emerged, after the payment of some 18,000,000*l.* in settlement of the farmers' claim, (1) a contribution of 1,000,000*l.* towards the promotion of agricultural education and research, (2) some additional security for tenant farmers' capital, and (3) a system, in England and Wales, of Conciliation Committees for fixing by agreement rates of wages in agriculture. The principle that the State should attempt by direct action to stimulate increased production and secure improved cultivation—which was the basis of the policy—has been definitely abandoned. It has been not only abandoned but discredited. The abandonment of the policy is justified on the ground that it was mistaken and unsound, and that it is better for agriculture that the State should refrain from any such action as that contemplated in the Agriculture Act. The Repeal Act is commended, therefore, not only as the reversal of an unsound policy, but the recantation of a fundamental error.

Confronted with this situation, what are the present prospects of British agriculture? In the first place, it may be regarded as satisfactory that the air has been cleared. The bright visions of a vast extension of arable cultivation, of a nation which should be self-sufficient

Digitized by Google

in its food supplies, of a large increase of the rural population enjoying large profits or high wages, have faded like an unsubstantial pageant and left not a rack behind. We have returned to the realm of realities. The practical question remains, what will the nation do?

In the revulsion of feeling from the ill-starred attempt of the Government to deal with agriculture, many were disposed to say that the best service any Government can render is to leave it alone. This is not possible. The nation cannot ignore agriculture or treat the rural population as negligible. The question of the land and its utilisation remains of eternal interest to the whole community, and no Government can long profess indifference to it.

Two of the three classes concerned in agriculture have more or less formulated their demands. The National Farmers' Union has issued a statement of policy containing thirty-three items, of which nearly all call for fresh legislation. The most novel and at the same time the most drastic of their proposals are that agricultural land, being the farmers' raw material, should be exempt from rates; and that a 'Board of Agriculture' should be constituted 'on a more representative basis,' and should be responsible for 'the formulation of national agricultural policy.' The Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture, which include landowners as well as farmers, have issued an agricultural legislative programme. This, as befits a body having long experience of the possibilities of parliamentary action, is more limited in its range and more cautious in its demands, only ten subjects being suggested as requiring the attention of the Legislature.

The demands of the agricultural labourers are embodied in a pamphlet issued by the Labour Party, entitled 'The Labour Party and the Countryside.' It differs from both the statements above referred to in professing to formulate a complete agricultural policy and not in asking for legislation for the benefit of only one class of agriculturists. As Lord Ernle * has trenchantly observed, 'The Government's abandonment of its policy leaves the Labour Party in sole possession of

* 'The Times,' Dec. 19, 1921.

Digitized by Google

the field. They are the one section of the community which has put forward a definite programme with regard to agriculture and rural life. At present they have no competitor.' With many of the suggestions of the Labour Party there would be a large measure of agreement among agriculturists, but it is stated quite clearly that the substitution of public for private ownership—in other words, the Nationalisation of the Land—underlies in principle all the proposals.

To the principle of Land Nationalisation there is certainly no general assent; and by those engaged in agriculture—other than as labourers—it is commonly rejected with contumely. But it would be idle to deny that the issue is one which must be faced, and it would be equally idle to deny that a plausible case for a drastic change in our present land system can be formulated. Apart from theoretical arguments for the transfer of agricultural land from private to public ownership, there are two main lines of attack on the present system, viz. (1) That there are certain incidents in the present system which are prejudicial to the national interests; and (2) that the present system has not only failed to secure the maximum production from the land, but that in fact production has declined, and is declining, under it. The first point is stated in some detail by the Labour Party as follows:

'The Labour Party traces many of the evils of the present agricultural system, as well as much of the past oppression of the rural workers, to the power given to individuals by the private ownership of land. Though some landowners are eager to improve their own land, the landlord class, as a whole, with its bulwarks in the lawyers and land agents and in the House of Lords, is found obstructing every national reform concerning land. Here and there large tracts of land lie undeveloped or under-cultivated, or are used in ways hostile to the utmost food-production, because of the arbitrary decision, or the neglect, of private owners. The difficulties put by private ownership in the way of housing, extension of small holdings and land reclamation, are well known. The extortionate prices demanded whenever land has to be compulsorily taken for allotments or small holdings, railways, schools, waterworks, or other public needs, have been often exposed. Even more serious is the fact that, with

Digitized by Google

land in private ownership, a large part of the value of every improvement passes, after a longer or shorter interval, to the landowners as an unearned increment of value.'

There are many landowners who would admit that this indictment is not wholly unfounded, although they would certainly not admit that it applied to landowners 'as a whole,' or indeed to more than a limited number of them. But, even if it were generally true, it would still remain to be shown that the only, or even the best, cure for defects in the present system is to abolish it. There are other ways of dealing with malefactors besides hanging them.

The other practical objection to the maintenance of the present land system is more fundamental. If it were the fact that under it not only is the production of the land less than it might be, but also that it is being steadily reduced, the argument in favour of trying another system would be, from the national point of view, very strong. It may at once be admitted that the total production of the land could be substantially increased; but there is no country in the world, whatever its land system, of which this cannot be said. But the further charge that production is less than formerly and is steadily diminishing is not proven.

Those who condemn the present system on the ground that under it agricultural production is declining are able to cite authorities in support of the allegation. Indeed the statement has been so constantly reiterated that it has come to be regarded as a truism. Mr Wolff, who, in a chapter entitled 'Shortcomings of our Agriculture,' gives an informative account of the progress of German agriculture, mentions that, when in the German Parliament a deputy 'referred commendingly to some feature of British farming, which he held up as a model, the Chamber resounded with the derisive cry, "British agriculture is bankrupt."' Mr Christopher Turnor states roundly that 'in 1914 the gross production from the land was practically the same as it was in 1814, and much less than it was in 1840.' And even Sir Daniel Hall observes that 'the history of British farming for the last forty years has been one of continuous decline from the point of view of the gross production of British soil.' As there are no trustworthy statistics of British agriculture

Digitized by Google

prior to 1867, it is not possible to prove that at some earlier period the gross production of the land was larger than after that date. All that can be said is that, as there is no statistical evidence of any value, it is open to any one to hold any opinion on the subject. When, however, we come to the past forty or fifty years there are data on which a reasoned opinion can be formed.

Assertions that the total output of agricultural land has diminished are founded on the undeniable fact that a considerable area which forty or fifty years ago was under arable cultivation is now under grass. Taking the average of the ten years 1869–78, there were in Great Britain 18,111,000 acres under the plough, whereas in the ten years 1905–14 there were 14,723,000 acres, and in the year 1921, 14,964,000 acres. It may be assumed that the arable area will be less this year than last, and that it is now not greater than before the war. As the production per acre from grass land is less than from arable land, a reduction in total output, in the absence of other factors, appears evident. This would be so if the output from the 14¾ million acres which have remained in arable cultivation was the same; but if, in fact, a considerable proportion of that area has been devoted to other crops yielding a higher return per acre, it may be that the 14¾ million acres now are producing as large a quantity of food as the 18 million acres were producing forty or fifty years ago. To take a hypothetical example —if a million acres formerly growing wheat were now growing potatoes, the total output from that area would be increased about five-fold.

This illustrates what, in fact, has happened, although there are no statistics adequate to measure the change. The cultivation of fruit and vegetables now occupies a very substantial proportion of the arable land. Intensive culture is practised on a large scale. The agricultural returns, incomplete as they are in this respect, show that over 170,000 acres of the 'farmed' land in Great Britain are now devoted to fruit and vegetables, in addition to 700,000 acres of potatoes. The earlier returns do not enable any comparisons to be made, except as regards potatoes, which now occupy about 50 per cent. more land than in the 'seventies.' In the case of small fruit, comparable returns were first collected in 1888; and the

Digitized by Google

increase has been over 100 per cent. since that date. The immense extension of glass cultivation which is evident to the casual observer in the neighbourhood of London and other centres of population—but of which there are no satisfactory statistics—denotes an enormous increase in the output per acre of the land thus occupied.

It is possible to extract from the available statistics a few figures which, at any rate, suffice to expose the fallacy of taking the area of arable land as the only measure of an increase or decrease of total production. If the returns of live stock in Great Britain for the ten years 1869–78 are compared with the returns for the ten years 1912–21, it will be found that on the average cattle have increased by 1,439,000, while sheep have decreased by 5,464,000, and pigs by 80,000. If these figures are reduced to terms of meat supply, they show an increase of about 200,000 tons. The increase in milk supply is still more apparent. Comparing the same periods, there has been an increase of nearly 700,000 head in the milking herd of the country. Corroborative evidence of the increased output of milk is afforded by the fact that, although the population has increased since 1871 by nearly 17 millions, and the consumption per head has certainly not diminished, British farmers still retain a practical monopoly of the market, and the import of fresh milk has been a negligible factor.

The alleged failure of the present land system to maintain the total production from the land must therefore be regarded as not proven; indeed, so far as precise information is available, the evidence points to the conclusion that the output of the agricultural land of the country is substantially larger than it was forty or fifty years ago. Agriculture has adapted itself to the economic conditions, and a considerable change has been made in the relative proportions of its various products, but there is good reason to believe that the aggregate amount of the products has increased. It should be noted that, in the comparisons I have made above, only the output of agricultural land—i.e. land occupied in holdings of more than one acre—is considered. It will not be contested that, if the produce of allotments were taken into account, it would show a large increase during the past half-century.

Digitized by Google

In constructing the agricultural policy which has so ignominiously broken down, the Government claimed to be guided very largely by the recommendations of the Agricultural Policy Sub-Committee, appointed by Mr Asquith in August 1916. The terms of reference to this Committee were: 'Having regard to the need of increased home-grown food supplies in the interest of national security, to consider and report upon the methods of effecting such increase'; and the Committee at the outset of their Report state that they were informed that the question asked them 'did not refer to war but to post-war conditions.' The Committee was a representative one, including as it did Lord Selborne as Chairman, Sir Ailwyn Fellowes (now Lord Ailwyn), Sir Charles Bathurst (now Lord Bledisloe), Mr R. E. Prothero (now Lord Ernle), Mr E. G. Strutt, Sir Daniel Hall, Sir Matthew Wallace, Sir Horace Plunkett, Prof. Bryner Jones, and Mr G. G. Rea.

Notwithstanding the intimation given to the Committee that they were appointed to consider only post-war policy, they were requested, soon after their appointment, 'to issue an interim report upon a guaranteed price and a guaranteed wage as matters upon which immediate legislative action might be taken.' They accordingly presented the first part of their Report in February 1917, recommending:

(*a*) The establishment of a minimum wage for agricultural labourers and the setting-up of Wages Boards.

(*b*) A guarantee of minimum prices for wheat and oats.

(*c*) A general survey of the condition of agricultural land from the point of view of its utilisation for food-production.

(*d*) Power to the Board of Agriculture temporarily to supersede owners and dispossess tenants in case of such mismanagement as seriously affects food-production.

(*e*) Consideration of the improvement of common grazing land.

(*f*) An increased number of cottages.

(*g*) The encouragement of sugar-beet cultivation.

Of these recommendations the first four were embodied in principle, if not in precise detail, in the Corn Production Act of 1917; and some effect was also given to the recommendations as to cottages and sugar-beet.

Digitized by Google

In January 1917, the Committee presented the second part of their Report, emphasising the fact that the two parts were

'not separable policies. They are strictly interdependent and mutually essential parts of one policy. Without the aid of the measures recommended in Part II, the stability of the industry of agriculture and the authority of the State secured by Part I can only produce partial results. Without the armour provided by Part I the measures of reconstruction recommended in Part II are foredoomed to impotence.'

The recommendations contained in Part II cover a wide field. They may be indicated by the following summary:

(*a*) The re-organisation of the English and Scottish Boards of Agriculture.

(*b*) Further State aid for agricultural education and research, the establishment of demonstration and illustration farms and the extension of live-stock improvement schemes.

(*c*) Additional assistance from State funds to Agricultural Organisation Societies.

(*d*) Extension of facilities for agricultural credit.

(*e*) Increased facilities for the provision of small holdings and the adoption of the principle of Mr Jesse Collings' Purchase of Land Bill.

(*f*) Reconstruction of villages.

(*g*) Development of rural industries, and formation of women's institutes by grants for those purposes.

(*h*) Stimulation, by legislation, of tithe redemption.

(*i*) Periodical re-valuation for assessment purposes, and a more equitable apportionment of the cost of national services between local and national funds.

(*k*) Amendment of the Agricultural Holdings Act.

(*l*) Adoption of the principle of the Evesham Custom for market gardens.

(*m*) Establishment of Reclamation and Land Drainage authorities, and promotion of reclamation by legislation.

(*n*) Utilisation of all land suitable for agriculture and forestry, and adoption of a national policy of afforestation.

(*o*) Legislation to regulate the sale of farm seeds, to deal with injurious weeds, and to eliminate animal pests.

(*p*) Amendment of law relating to weights and measures for agricultural products.

(*q*) Improvement of transport facilities.

Digitized by Google

It will be agreed that these proposals were comprehensive, and that it was not possible to deal with all of them at once or in the same measure. In constructing their post-war agricultural policy the Government selected some and rejected others, notwithstanding the insistence of the Committee that all or none must be adopted. The situation has changed since 1917; and it is quite possible that if the same Committee, or one of equal authority, were to review the position of British agriculture in the light of present knowledge, they would modify some of their proposals. Nevertheless, the very able Report in which their recommendations are advanced and explained remains on record, and may very usefully be referred to for its lucid and forcible enunciation of principles which are permanently applicable.

A defect in the Report was that it gave somewhat insufficient attention to the improvement of the conditions of life of the rural worker, but at least it made certain suggestions for his benefit. In particular the scheme of village reconstruction suggested by Lord Milner, Lord Ernle, and Sir Trustram Eve, which the Committee approved, would, if adopted, have gone far to ameliorate the lives of many agricultural labourers. The Committee, however, while emphasising the need for 'the increased prosperity and happiness of the rural population' and 'a better developed social life in our villages,' took a limited view in their recommendations, confining them to rural industries and to women. Their recommendation of a legal minimum wage was a direct advantage to the worker on the economic side; but the Report failed to suggest effective means of adding to the amenities of his life, or of stimulating his mental and intellectual activities.

This may doubtless be accounted for by the fact that in the middle of the war it required a considerable amount of imagination to realise the influence which the young men would exert when they returned to the villages. It was thought by many that they would not return to the land, that they would be 'unsettled' and restless and would not again face, after their terrible experiences, the dullness of village life. For the most part they *have* returned, and appear in many cases to

Digitized by Google

have settled down to the old life. But to assume that the war has made no difference in them is to take a very superficial view. Were the Selborne Committee to meet now, they could not fail to take this into account, and to view more broadly the problem as affecting the men of the village. When they reported, agricultural labour was not organised, and they make no mention of labour unions. By any one reviewing the agricultural position to-day, this factor cannot be ignored; and, in any serious consideration of future policy, the increased class-consciousness and assertiveness of the rural wage-earner must be reckoned with.

If, however, the Selborne Committee five years ago did not fully visualise the sociological factors of village life after the war, the Government in framing their policy had a better opportunity of realising the new conditions. They have, however, not attempted to do as much for the agricultural worker as the Selborne Committee suggested, and have been content with first adopting and then repudiating the principle of a minimum wage. They inserted in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries Act a provision imposing upon County Councils the obligation to make inquiries, which has been so far ineffectual in its results.

That British agriculture can and should be left to work out its own salvation, unimpeded and unassisted by the State, is a sentiment which nowadays meets with approval in many quarters. But, as has already been indicated, agriculturists are by no means content to be left alone. It is quite true that the success of British agriculture will in the future, as in the past, depend upon the intelligence and energy of those engaged in it, and the extent to which they avail themselves of modern knowledge. But, however self-reliant they may be, they must be greatly affected by the action of Parliament and the Government from time to time. The nature of that action obviously will be decided by the complexion of the Government which the people put in power. It may be assumed that all candidates for rural constituencies will find it necessary to state in general terms the agricultural policy which they will support. The only definite policy yet put forward on behalf of any

Digitized by Google

party is that of the Labour Party already referred to. In that policy the Nationalisation of the Land is the dominating issue; and, if the Labour Party come into power, their agricultural policy would be built on that foundation.

What the result of the next General Election will be it would be rash to predict, but for the purpose of the present argument it may be assumed that a Labour Government will not be returned, that Land Nationalisation will consequently be deferred, and that the agricultural policy of the immediate future will retain, in its general principles, the present system of landlord, tenant, and labourer. Schemes for facilitating the acquisition by tenants of their farms, or by labourers of small holdings, may alter the numbers of the respective classes, but do not seriously affect the predominance of the system.

It will be generally agreed that, if present conditions were perpetuated, no legislation would be necessary to eliminate landlords. They would be squeezed out of existence by mere economic force. The function of the landlord in the agricultural hierarchy is to provide the land, to bring it into a state in which it is available for economic use, and to equip it with such apparatus (buildings, fences, roads, etc.) as is necessary for its utilisation as a farm. He is, however—at any rate by the old conception of his position in the scheme of things—more than the provider of land and capital. He is, or should be, responsible for ensuring that the land he owns is properly used. It is quite true, as is commonly urged by Land Nationalisers, that there is strictly no absolute ownership in land, and that the ancient form of tenure under the Crown which still survives in legal pedantry veils the truth that the ownership of land is a trust, and that it implies responsibility to the State for the due discharge of the trusteeship. That this is so has been recognised by generations of landowners who, according to their lights, have acknowledged and endeavoured to live up to the maxim that landed property involves duties as well as rights.

But the old order changes with the times. The ownership of land has in many cases fallen into the

Digitized by Google

hands of those who are ignorant or unmindful of the old traditions, and regard land as a private possession involving perhaps a little more trouble, but no more responsibility, than the ownership of a motor-car or a yacht. Where the old acres have not passed to new men, the surviving landlords have been, by the recent course of events, rendered almost helpless. On the one hand the crushing burden of taxation has rendered it impossible to maintain the proper equipment of the land, while on the other hand their control over the use of their land has been substantially lessened.

The illogical position in which landlords are now placed in itself suggests a possible solution of the problem on lines which will justify the maintenance of the existing system and remedy some of its admitted defects. The amount of agricultural land in this country is strictly limited, and in the nature of things must decrease rather than increase as the population grows. It is of supreme importance to the nation that it should be put to its best economic use. In the words of Lord Selborne's Committee, 'the waste of good land on game or games is inconsistent with patriotism.' In short, the monopolisation by individuals, for their selfish use, of tracts of land which are capable of being applied to productive purposes will be regarded as inimical to the public interest. The landlord will be expected to act up to his trusteeship, or to make way for others who will fulfil their fiduciary obligations.

If the ownership of agricultural land implies public responsibility, its occupation equally involves obligations; and here again Lord Selborne's Committee indicated the lines upon which the proper utilisation of the land may be secured. Earlier in this article I have endeavoured to vindicate British agriculture, as a whole, from aspersions which appear to me to be undeserved. But it is nevertheless indubitable that far too much agricultural land is badly farmed, or under-farmed, and that the total production is thereby reduced far below what it might, and should, be. This country has no monopoly of bad farming; there is plenty to be found in every country. But this, as has already been remarked, is a small country with a very limited area of agricultural land. There is no room for bad farming here, as there may be

Digitized by Google

in the wide spaces of other countries. Every acre is valuable, and should be so treated as to yield the maximum production of which it is capable under existing economic conditions. It is not only that some of what may be termed the farming class—i.e. those who are born and bred on the land and come of an agricultural stock—are deficient both in energy and knowledge, and are unchangeable and unteachable. This hindrance to progress time will gradually remove, though the process is slow and the nation may be compelled to accelerate it.

There is another factor which is peculiar to an old settled country, and is probably more influential here than elsewhere. A large proportion of agricultural land is occupied by persons who do not depend upon it for a livelihood. They take a farm either as a means of recreation—a refuge from the serious business of their lives—or as subsidiary to another occupation on which they depend for their income. In many instances such 'amateur' farmers are keen and efficient. If they are successful men of business, they bring brains and commercial training into the management of their farms, often with marked success. But farming is a serious business, and, unless the occupier of a farm takes it seriously and endeavours to make the most of it, he is a hindrance to production and progress.

It need hardly be said that the adoption of measures to remove bad farmers involves, as a corollary, the adoption of measures to enable farmers who are doing their duty by the land entrusted to them to feel secure in their position. The system of yearly tenancies which now so generally prevails in England and Wales has always appeared to me theoretically indefensible. To take a farm—at any rate a mixed farm—for a year is on the face of it not a sound business proposition. No man of business would, if he could help it, open a factory or shop on such terms; how much less business-like is it to embark on a business like farming, in which a four or five years' rotation is necessary for a full turnover? But, as matters have developed, yearly tenancies have now been established under conditions which give the tenant almost as much security as a lease, without its liabilities.

Digitized by Google

The adjustment of the position of two of the persons in the agricultural trinity—viz. the landlord and the tenant—does not appear to present insuperable difficulty on the lines foreshadowed by the Selborne Committee. In considering the position of the third person—the labourer—the Committee give little help. They were not unmindful of him, but in the main their recommendations were directed to the object of facilitating his rise to independence—e.g. as a small-holder—rather than to an improvement of his status as a wage-earner. But it is obvious that the continuance of the present system implies the employment of manual workers in numbers which will always constitute them the majority of those who live by the land. If the tripartite system is to remain, the position of the labourer, no less than that of the landlord and tenant, must also be adjusted to the new conditions. In the march of progress, industrially, socially, and agriculturally, the land-worker has not kept pace. Notwithstanding his acquisition of political rights, and some amelioration of his personal circumstances, he is relatively in a worse position than he was two centuries ago.

'Under the older system, peasants were rarely without some real stake in the agricultural community; they were not members of an isolated class; they were not exclusively dependent on competitive wages for their homes and livelihood; they were seldom without opportunities of bettering their positions; they had not before them the unending vista of a gradual process of physical exhaustion in another's service. Under the modern commercial system, the conditions from which peasants were generally free are those under which the average agricultural labourer lives, though exceptional men may struggle out of their tyranny. They have no property but their labour. Even of that one possession—such are the exigencies of their position—they are not the masters. If they fail to sell it where they are now living, or if they lose employment by a change in the ownership or occupation of the land on which they work, they must move on. . . . They may be indispensable, but it is only as wheels in another man's money-making machine.' *

Thus Lord Ernle summarised the position ten years

* 'English Farming, Past and Present.' Rowland E. Prothero.

Digitized by Google

ago, and thus, in general terms, the problem may be stated now. The first essential is to recognise that there is a problem to be faced and solved. Some means must be devised whereby the wage-earners can be incorporated, so to speak, in the agricultural system, and not remain as a mere appendage to it. They must in some way be given a direct interest in the fruits of their labour. At present their only interest in the success or failure of the undertaking in which they are an indispensable factor is the fear of unemployment. They can have no sense of personal concern in the production of the land or of the prosperity of the industry. The difficulties of the problem are patent and very great, so much so that many regard them as insuperable. Nevertheless, they must be confronted and overcome, if the present land system is to survive under the political and sociological conditions of the immediate future. As in the case of landlord and farmer, the key-note of any harmonious adaptation to the new conditions of national life is the development of the sense of responsibility. But responsibility cannot be based on altruism. No human being can feel responsibility for an enterprise in which he is only a wheel in the machine. He must have a tangible interest in the direction of the machine, an interest which is not only monetary but also, in one way or another, recognises the relation of wage-payer and wage-receiver as that of partnership and of mutual dependence. Employers insist that labour depends on capital; workers insist that capital depends on labour. Both are right, but both are reluctant to admit the consequence of the two propositions, viz. that mutual dependence means not domination or subservience but partnership.

No one who has given the most superficial study to the question can be insensible to its practical difficulties. The field of agricultural history is strewn with failures by well-intentioned persons who have attempted to carry out schemes based on this principle of partnership. As a dialectical exercise nothing is easier than to demonstrate its impracticability as applied to farming. But human relationships are not determined by dialectics; they are controlled, in the long run, by the aspirations, the sentiments, the actions of men and women. And, in my

Digitized by Google

belief, the continuance of the present land system depends fundamentally on a re-adjustment of the relationship of farmer and labourer, on a basis which recognises, not in rhetoric but in concrete terms, their inter-dependence.

All this, it may be recalled, is founded on the assumption that the system of landlord, tenant, and labourer is worth preserving as the dominating method of carrying on agriculture in this country. That, as it seems to me, is the present-day issue, and I have suggested that its preservation depends upon certain re-adjustments. It is common to talk of the 'ruin of agriculture' if this or that is done or left undone. That is not the issue. It is easy to ruin agriculturists, but it is not possible to ruin agriculture. It is inconceivable that any densely populated country will in the long run allow its agricultural land to be left unused. Land may for a time, as in the 'nineties,' become derelict; and it is possible that this might again happen temporarily on a larger scale. But a few years, though they may involve the disappearance of a number, or even of a class, of individuals, are negligible in the life of the nation. Under some system or other, agricultural land will be utilised for food-production. The question is what system? The present system has slowly developed from the past, adapting itself, from generation to generation, to the changing conditions of national life. It represents a revolution, but a revolution which has extended over centuries. The history of British agriculture records one revolution, not of the kind which works gradually, but of the kind which is sudden, sharp, drastic, and, for the time, disastrous. That revolution came from the outside, by the invasion of the Black Death. Between the evolutionary and the catastrophic revolution the choice should not be difficult—if the choice be given.

R. Henry Rew.

Digitized by Google

Art. 7.—THE FRENCH DRAMA OF MANNERS.

1. *De Scribe à Ibsen.* By René Doumic. Paris, 1893.
2. *Essais sur le Théâtre Contemporain.* By the same. Paris: Perrin, 1905.
3. *Le Théâtre Nouveau.* By the same. Paris: Perrin, 1908.
4. *La Vie au Théâtre.* By Henry Bordeaux. Four Series. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1910–1919.

THE history of the drama in France is longer and more continuous than in any other nation. In the survey, it offers itself as a series of epochs, each marked by original personalities, variation of the technique previously employed, and changes in the morals and manners reproduced on the stage. At the present moment, we find a large group of playwrights established in popular favour, and no small number of those who are often styled *Les Jeunes*, as if by way of encouraging them to inaugurate that new epoch which is so constantly demanded, to discover that new formula of the drama which is so persistently elusive. But these latter have their way of being not altogether so young, nor yet so novel and revolutionary as they could wish; while their elders not only hold the position they have won, but are also alert to use such new methods as may seem to offer fair possibilities. In any case it is plain that both groups are in direct descent from Augier and Dumas fils. The current form of the play is that 'Comédie de Mœurs,' that dramatic comedy, which Augier and Dumas initiated and ably developed. If we are at all to understand the drama of to-day, we must first reckon with these masters, whereof the one withdrew from active production in 1878, after 'Les Fourchambault,' and the other in 1887, after 'Françillon.'

The Comedy of Manners, as it shaped itself in their hands, was a form highly eclectic and accommodating. It was adequate to the exhibition of the national qualities. It allowed all clearness and logic, the full play of wits, the desired rapidity of movement. If the age was one of analysis, of scientific observation, herein was room afforded for all sorts of competency in the study and presentation of the individual and of society at large. Historical drama, classic and bourgeois

Digitized by Google

tragedy, the comedy of tears, and more of the like, went to the making of it. It was the outcome of ingenious theories and experiments put forth and essayed by many dramatists during the course of a century or more. Le Sage, Sedaine, Beaumarchais—to mention only these among rivals celebrated or obscure—had contributed to the formation of this Comedy. The very failure of Romanticism served it and furthered it, for Romanticism could not hold the boards and the attention of a French public. With Dumas the elder, there was dramatic instinct and fertility running to waste, and with Hugo lyrical intensity lavished upon childish melodrama. So it was, and is, judged. And presently another element came to be added. Scribe organised the comedy of intrigue. Irritated critics declared—and the declaration is still re-echoed—that character was sacrificed by him to plot, and that he lacked all sense of literature and style. But at least he was high master of technique; and such mastery is not to be overlooked, is indeed of lasting value. The supreme dramatist, said Dumas *fils* in deliberate assurance, would be one who knew mankind like Balzac, and the stage like Scribe. At all events, Dumas and Augier were able so to fuse together the comedy of manners, the comedy of intrigue, the bourgeois drama or tragedy, as to satisfy the sense of reality. Here at length was the individual and society fitly observed and reproduced; the clash of character so exhibited that the audience must pass from mood to mood of laughter and tears, of curiosity, of suspense or prevision how things will end for these folk who have compelled its attention. And since the French audience, conformably with the French spirit, applies logic to life, typical cases were so presented that this or that social question of immediate pressure received an answer—an answer which might be paradoxical, a defiant challenge to answer otherwise, or might issue from the well-balanced judgment of common sense.

The standing and value of Augier and Dumas are generally recognised. For the present purpose it may be enough to state that they represented the two sides of the French spirit—Augier the Romanised Celt, and Dumas rather the Frank, the man of the North, imaginative, subjective, personal. Both were in full reaction against

Digitized by Google

Romanticism and all excess of individualism. Intent upon the social weal, they further parted between them the two dominating themes of life, of the stage, and one might add of Balzac—that making of money and of love which is blessing or curse according to its conduct and quality. Augier, studying the industrial conditions of his time, disliked plutocracy and would have furthered an aristocracy of intelligence. Dumas, labouring to derive counsel from the natural sciences then so confident, was moved by his imagination passionately to denounce the corrupt relations between the sexes. Both saw salvation in the honourable and family life. If Augier remained the sagacious and moderate moralist, Dumas passed from realism to symbolism, as one that had seen some dread vision of the Beast Triumphant, and could not but reveal it. And using the stage as a tribune, he shrank from no austere paradox. Altogether, these two have served and serve as standards, according as the Comedy of Manners elects sober observation and lessons left to be inferred, or feels constrained to issue peremptory advice and warning.

Coming into the hands of somewhat younger contemporaries, Meilhac and Halévy in collaboration, and Sardou, the Comedy of Manners underwent modification in accordance with their personalities. The work of Meilhac and Halévy was related to that of Dumas and Augier much as, in painting, impressionism was related to realism. And the field of observation was more concentrated. Paris took the place of humanity and France; and in Paris the busy-idle votaries of pleasure alone were to be regarded, lightly and ironically. 'What fools these mortals be!' At the sight of their antics, sceptical serenity—that of Meilhac and Halévy—were best moved to smiles. Action, dramatic action, was barely required to exhibit such triflers. Their life was absurd; and Comedy, calling them to her bar for judgment, could only use the final laughter which bore with it no chastisement. Society doubtless was corrupt; or should it not rather be said, frivolous? Vice was too harsh a term; and indignation would be flung away upon these ephemerals. Incompetent to judge themselves, unconscious of their folly, let them gyrate and chatter, to the amusement of the nonchalant dramatists

Digitized by Google

and the audience. To be amused and amuse was a sufficient philosophy and criterion for Meilhac and Halévy. They used indulgence, pushed to the extreme. At most, in passing, they might touch the chord of sentiment. Once indeed, in 'Froufrou,' and early in their career, they lighted upon a subject which pathos claimed for its own. But their chosen range was that of irony. This, with their extreme indulgence, their method of *tableaux* loosely strung together, and their constant effort to discover new *milieux*, they have bequeathed to no few of their successors.

Sardou, though he too was diligent in discovering new *milieux*, tightened the fabric of the Comedy of Manners as much as Meilhac and Halévy relaxed it. He had his eye upon Scribe, subordinating character to intrigue, rather than upon Dumas and Augier. He was Scribe over again, in the irritated judgment of many; others wondered which of the two was insulted by the comparison. At least they resembled each other in their sustained success with the public, and the unremitting mislike which they encountered among the fastidious. Both exhibited an easy and various mastery of craftsmanship, not to be denied even by the most hostile. Nor was it possible to disallow in them, and especially in Sardou, a swift and adroit perception of the surface. No topic of the hour could escape being forestalled by Sardou. The slightest shade of any change in manners, the shifting vagaries of fashionable tone, the emergence or likely emergence of any new type, could not fail to attract his promptest attention. A pretty heap of miscellaneous puppets to be pulled by the strings—such was the constant objection urged in divers ways and fullness of phrasing. Or when, in his later years, Sardou addressed himself to the primitive emotions of the audience, his complications and violence of action in sumptuous exotic settings were met by derisive smiles as mere gaudy wares for export to foreigners and barbarians. After all, if he laboured but for the moment, the coming historian will have recourse to him for matter. 'Patrie,' and the last two acts of 'La Haine,' will stand their ground. And his favourite modification of the formula imposed by Augier and Dumas, the easy passage from the *tableaux* of light comedy to drama

Digitized by Google

heightened and heightened but nevertheless reverting to comedy again and the happy ending, is of avail for the future as in the present and the immediate past.

It is a law of art that, in its development, it should press forward to its excess, at whatever cost. The theory of naturalism seemed more logical and complete than the realism practised by Augier and Dumas. In the study of modern society, why should not the biological method be followed? Was not humanity the creature of hereditary instinct and environment, the subject—or victim—of universal determinism? The result of such study might be pessimism—the conviction that truth was more true in proportion as it was more unpleasant. Nevertheless, the drama must be naturalistic, or cease to exist, declared Zola. But Zola, and the brothers Goncourt, offered nothing that could hold the stage; the born playwright was needed for the task.

Henry Becque, after a long struggle, carried the day. An isolated figure, and accused of sterility, he signed two masterpieces, and left his mark on a whole school. Somewhat of the artifices and conventions of Romanticism still clung to the realism of Dumas and Augier, as it had to that of Balzac; whereas Becque at length, after a 'Michel Pauper,' could produce the purely naturalistic 'Corbeaux' and 'La Parisienne.' Reducing action to its narrowest limits, his one aim—like that of Molière, said his friends—was that his characters should unconsciously betray their quality, their sordid and hideous quality. But this brood of harpies swooping to the banquet, these loathly men of prey, are comparatively simple, or the mere grotesque figures of caricature. It is in 'La Parisienne' that Becque could use his cruel irony to full effect. Here are hypocrites, wholly concealed from themselves; folk of the last ignominy, who know it not. What they know is that they are correct, respectable, of the best among the average good. For them, the 'lie in the soul'—to use Plato's phrase—is complete. The contrast between what they are, and what they think themselves to be, wakes instant laughter; and then—at a thought—dismay that such lack of all moral sense should be possible.

A couple of years later than the production of 'La

Digitized by Google

Parisienne,' the Théâtre Libre was founded. How did it stand with regard to the Comedy of Manners? A private, or semi-private, subscription theatre, it could leave the Comedy of Manners to pursue its course before the general public, and for itself present the latest and most extreme experiments in the way of logical naturalism applied to the stage. The way had been pointed out by Becque, by Dumas' 'Monsieur Alphonse,' by not a few passages in Molière, or even in Euripides. Comedy, naturalistic drama, from being brutal and cruel became the *comédie rosse*, as the phrase went. Comedy could still alternate or blend with drama, since humanity was judged to be absurd and ridiculous at least by fits and starts, however persistent in squalor and depravity. The Théâtre Libre would offer the 'slice of life,' actual life however unpleasant, and because of its truth and unpleasantness. Each for himself in the grim welter and struggle for snatched prizes or for the bare subsistence—that was the common wont and practice, the sufficient and only material with which playwrights should deal. Taking themselves and their method very seriously, the youthful and thorough purveyors of the Théâtre Libre were for denuding humanity of its every pretence and lie. Man delighted them not; 'no, nor woman neither.' The one unfailing solace was, as of old, to shock and bait the bourgeois class. They were not grievously offended when accused of anarchy.

As for lasting achievement, it may at least be said that MM. Georges Ancey, Léon Hennique, Jean Jullien, and others, endeavoured to approximate the drama to the novel, if only to the naturalistic novel. There had been large complaint that the usual stage was closed against aught that smacked of experiment and novelty. Here at length was opportunity and, during eight or nine years, for reformation. But, more and more, as time went on, judgment came to be passed on the productions of the Free Theatre as a series of lugubrious hoaxes. Why, it was asked, did not these dramatists come out into the open as satirists, or convert their wares, by an easy touch here and there, into so many farces? They were to abolish conventions, and had but substituted a new set, already grown rigid and stale. They were become, it was said, monotonous, even insipid. Towards

Digitized by Google

the end, it was hard to state whether the provender of the Théâtre Libre, or the audience, failed first. At all events, such of the school as showed promise of growth, were considering the Comedy of Manners and the appeal to the general public.

Extreme calls forth extreme; and presently the cry was for nothing less than poetry and mysticism. The whole movement was of interest, and one could wish to linger upon it. But, of its very nature, it could have small bearing upon the Comedy of Manners, pursuing its course as ever, appropriate to the average and general taste. The new-comers profited little by any study of Dumas in his later form, or of Ibsen. Symbolists, decadents, pre-Raphaelites, neo-Christians, or whatever term was given and taken, they heeded not, or scorned, the common and prosaic stage. Their aim was equally generous and vague. Heirs of an age notable for advance in historical and comparative criticism, they would revive the whole treasure of past emotion. Joan of Arc ever foiling French playwrights in their efforts to evoke her, they fell back upon romance. Various Tristans and Iseultes made their bow, and passed, shadowy for all their passion. Not in them, or their like, could the red blood be made to flow. A Rostand might shape a 'Princesse lointaine,' delicate and dubious; or a 'Samaritaine,' fairly inoffensive, somewhat or overmuch precious and affected. Maurice Bouchor could write mystery plays for recitation with accompaniment of music and miniature scenery and marionettes, which proved naïve, not irreverent, even touching. But, take it all in all, little was accomplished. Upon much theory and promise followed slender and evanescent results. Were these neophytes earnestly engaged in the revivification of beauty, ethereal love, and faith—or but toying dilettante-fashion with romance and religiosity, with curious and almost alien states of soul? It was as if, escaping from the prison-house of naturalism, they halted ere long at some wayside shrine erected to vague desire, not resolute to press further and reach conviction.

The movement abated, or became intermittent, according to the emergence or absence of personalities sincerely moved by mystic feeling. Thus, not long before the war, M. Paul Claudel was able to win allowance

Digitized by Google

or even homage by his 'Annonce faite à Marie,' his mystery-play with its action laid in the days when Joan of Arc was already listening to her voices. Here was rhythmical prose; poetry, as it were, unbound. And a little later in 'La Brébis égarée,' M. Francis Jammes could mingle the divine and the human, the inward and the outward life, in wistful simplicity. But, once more, we may not linger outside the range of that Comedy of Manners which engrosses the general attention of the French public, and our own for the moment. For the same reason, the briefest mention of the whole drama in verse during the period must suffice. Such drama, of course, it is quite open to regard as of equal or superior importance. But it cannot be said to come closely home to the present 'business and bosoms' of men, French or other. The French public will listen to the pulse and cadence of the Alexandrine by way of relief and change, not unwilling to credit itself for the decent taste and tincture in letters. Moreover, Théodore de Banville and his successors can amuse, and titillate the ear with rich and humorous and 'tight-rope' rhyming. Coppée's 'Pour la Couronne,' or Richepin's 'Chemineau,' may win their fair recognition. But a single fact tells the whole tale. Twice only, in the period, and with an interval of twenty-two years, has triumph accrued to the drama in verse, in the cases of Henri de Bornier's 'Fille de Roland' and Edmond Rostand's 'Cyrano de Bergerac.' And the critics must exercise all their ingenuity, after the event, in discovering the reasons for such unexpected triumph.

Returning to the broad current of dramatic comedy, to the Comedy of Manners, the group of more recent and contemporary playwrights at once engages us. And, however reduced by regretful omission of the less prominent and typical, it is no small group.

M. Maurice Donnay may claim early mention. He has all the *esprit*—that brilliant expression of intelligence and feeling—which stamps the Frenchman. And he is Parisian as well as French, blending irony and sentiment in his own graceful and subtle way. Perchance, in his case, it is sentiment that dominates, a tenderness that borders upon voluptuousness, and may pass at times into the region of the lawless or even the

Digitized by Google

perverse. The contents of his whole work might well be covered by the titles of two of the most characteristic: 'Amants' and 'La Douloureuse (The Reckoning).' To love, according to him, is to fall into mistakes and incur an inevitable penalty. Sooner or later, the primrose path leads to a tragic expiation; or at best we turn aside in such gentle melancholy and discreet resignation as befits the consciousness of a fleeting world. M. Donnay is a moralist, after the full French tradition; but he is lenient to the extreme, or beyond it. He has the large indulgence of the aged Renan for human weakness, for the pretty follies of either sex. He is Meilhac and Halévy over again, with added elegance and charm. Even the background is made an accomplice. And, as for the irresponsible natures of his women, their obedience to impulse and caprice, one may recall that Réjane long served him for model and ideal. In any case, he has the supreme gift of creating characters that live.

With such a gift, it barely matters that his native avoidance of effort extends to the composition of his plays, and that he proves more the delicate psychologist than the logical dramatist. It is sometimes said that art consists in making something out of nothing. That is the praise of a Racine, and also of M. Donnay in his degree. Or should he be rather likened to a Marivaux dealing with sentimental complications of the latest and most intimate pattern? But nonchalant, or amused, or saddened spectator of the world's comedy, he is still the moralist, for all the smiling nihilism evident in his 'Education de Prince.' His characters, unlike those set forth by certain of the younger dramatists, have still their scruples; tradition still weighs with them. But the morals which he observes are relaxed, hedonistic rather than stoical. And he would seem to say throughout that easy obedience to instinct is to be expected; that no large requirements should be urged on human weakness.

With M. Donnay may be associated M. Henri Lavedan, if only because the play of the moment is apt to be written by the one or the other. The first impression might even confuse them; but it is difference rather than resemblance which emerges upon close acquaintance. They observe, indeed much the same world—the *viveurs*, the *fêtards*, the leisured and moneyed folk whose sole

Digitized by Google

endeavour is to consort with fashion and follow their every impulse. His early dialogues, after the pattern of 'Gyp,' may be said to have ended for a time that form of literature, so utterly vacuous and vapid was the precisely reported conversation of these pleasure-seekers. And onward, throughout his work, he submits the like folk to pitiless, if laughing, irony. The line of the 'Nouveau Jeu' and the 'Vieux Marcheur' is continued in 'Le Marquis de Priola'—that figure of Don Juan no longer exalted, as by the Romantic school, but shown base, abject, and of to-day in his corruption, possibly of to-morrow if not of to-day in his perversity. The 'Prince d'Aurec' is also, or of course, one of the confraternity; and hereupon M. Lavedan encountered his storm of protest and obloquy. The play, with its sequel 'les Deux Noblesses'—Augier's question of actual and ideal aristocracy put again after years of change—seemed to indict a whole class as lost and contemptible in its slackness and inefficiency. But it should have been remembered that M. Lavedan, ironical as M. Donnay, easily passes from irony to satire; and that satire is nothing if not wholesale and exaggerated. Alternatively, or almost simultaneously, he is the disillusioned spectator of manners and morals that obviously are *mauvaises mœurs*, and the moralist who is moved to explosive indignation. He but seeks and seizes upon the high subject for comedy. Through him speaks tradition in honourable protest against modernity. He is Augier renewed, robustly convinced that he has right and reason upon his side; able also to put forth a 'Critique du Prince d'Aurec' as Molière put forth his 'Critique de l'École des Femmes.'

The work of Paul Hervieu, who died during the war, bears the impress of the tragic spirit. It is tragedy under modern conditions and within the elastic formula of the Comedy of Manners. His novels were already marked by a sombre austerity. The hostility of outward nature, and the grim borderland that parts reason from insanity, had engaged his attention. Thence he had passed to the exhibition of good society somewhat in the cold and detached manner of a Merimée, with such irony as allows the detail of horror in politest phrasing. Society, he discovered, was held together by a framework of finance,

Digitized by Google

as Balzac and Augier had discovered before him. Passion might wreck the individual; but society, the coalition of moneyed interests, continued its course, heedless as nature. And what was passion but savagery eruptive through the thin crust of simulated refinement? Love was counterfeit. Appetite, and the law of the stronger, prevailed. Passing from the novel to the drama, Hervieu adhered to his judgment of life, but found need to exchange a laboured and difficult style for that of Dumas *fils*. And if Dumas, finding marriage a main source of tragedy, demanded facilities for divorce, Hervieu would have these facilities still further expanded, that woman the weak might be less deplorably oppressed. In 'Les Tenailles' and 'La Loi de l'Homme,' it is the Code that takes the part of an outward and malignant fatality. But in 'La Course du Flambeau' and 'Le Dédale,' the question of the child is paramount. Individuals must sacrifice themselves to the welfare of the next generation. And this necessity, more authoritative than written codes, being of such sort that it may freely be accepted, even welcomed in the interest of human dignity, may not Hervieu and his audience be said to have reached something like the high and religious sphere of tragedy? In any case, he is a master craftsman, baring his drama of all but its essentials, swiftly pressing to the logical issue of his characters and their initial situations in a way that recalls the classic models of the older French stage.

The play with a thesis is continually exposed to the objection that it is an offence against art. It is evidently intended to prove something; but the sole proof which it can possibly afford is that the playwright is ingenious in manipulating a special case chosen by him. The special case presented, though more or less typical, is but a special case. Yet art and morals, if not to be confused, are yet not contrary each to each. It is well within the range of art to suggest moral and social problems for further meditation, though it often happens that this meditation takes its readiest form in complaint that the author has dealt hardly with his characters, driving them as it were in spite of themselves to a grievous ending. In any case, the problem-play is

Digitized by Google

in the French tradition, and consonant with the French habit of intelligence. It comprises the main work of Dumas *fils*—and of Molière himself. Convinced that society ails in this or that other part of its organism, how in the representation of it avoid discussing the problem of these maladies and their alleviations?

M. Eugène Brieux is equally robust and convinced. He has not the tragic and concentrated vision of Hervieu. For him suffices the good common sense of the conscientious and generous bourgeois. Heredity, the results of ill-living, the ruin brought by gambling, the status of woman and her economical condition—these and other matters, large and small, urge him towards dramatic embodiment. Does his work lack style, or any claim to count as literature? This question at least troubles him little, provided each drama be a deed in words, widely reverberating. We may call his work 'morality-plays,' or so many anecdotes to illustrate copy-book headings and homespun commonplaces. But commonplaces, one might answer on his behalf, are not to be neglected with impunity. Perennial in their essence, they are freshly applied by M. Brieux as occasion requires. He does not, indeed, offer a panacea for social ills. Or even, he furnishes no single solution for any of the problems which he raises. Like the naturalistic playwrights of the Théâtre Libre (does he not belong to them at least in his beginnings?) he too readily shoulders the blame of individual error upon society at large, or destiny. Comedy in his hands becoming didactic, the play itself is apt to be lost amid the hubbub of partisanship or objection which it originates. But he has a vigilant eye for characteristic detail. He has written 'La Robe rouge,' and 'Les Trois Filles de M. Dupont.' Not to be Parisian in the least, to be almost unsophisticated, is to be original. His influence is almost wholly to the good; and he deserves respectful acknowledgment.

M. Brieux, intently watching the strife of social ideas, warns, advises, decides. It is otherwise with M. François de Curel, for whom social questions depend ultimately upon the individual. And the more complex the individual, the more problematic and incalculable; while again, being moved to action by ideas, he is the more dramatic, tragic, in proportion to the intensity

Digitized by Google

with which these ideas and ideals conflict within him. Poet and philosopher, trained for engineering and affairs, a solitary sportsman of the fields and forests, M. de Curel broods over the figures he evokes, dowering them with the variousness and vigour that are his own, with his aloofness and disdain of all banality. What course shall these figures shape for themselves, highly exceptional in character and circumstance, seen on a larger scale than wonted life affords, grandiose, monstrous? In the contemplation of them he passes insensibly from the impartial to the sympathetic mood till at length, in the hour of crisis, they and he must face the Inscrutable, baffled, wistful, awed. He has no conclusions to offer. As for the life of the heart, sorrow comes, and tragic solitude, whether the strait or the broad and flowery path be followed. Love may exalt, or redeem, but also may prompt to self-seeking, to domination, even to murder in thought or act. Or love is a mirage—a mask assumed by a self-deluding idealism ('L'Invitée'; 'L'Envers d'une Sainte'; 'La Danse devant le Miroir').

But it is the problem of Authority that mainly exercises M. François de Curel. He has his terror-striking aristocrat, who overrides all scruples if so he may prolong his line which, of right, should serve France, nay save it in the hour of peril. He has his collision of the lonely and masterful *savant* with the multitude, avid of equality and materialistic ease; while the 'superman' of his best-known play, re-converted from socialism, and aristocrat throughout, arrogates the lion's share for the few that stimulate and guide the masses. He has his new Faust in quest of leadership, of the right to govern. In a single play he foreshortens nothing less than the development of humanity itself, with its conflict of science and religion ('Les Fossiles'; 'Le Coup d'Aile'; 'Le Repas du Lion'; 'La Comédie du Génie'; 'La Fille sauvage'). Indeed, these studies of souls are philosophical dramas, rather for private evocation than public performance. The bounds of the theatre are transcended. M. François de Curel is ever reshaping them to finality; he but avails himself of the stage performance the better to envisage his characters, and mould their speech to more intimate truthfulness.

Digitized by Google

M. Émile Fabre, younger than the members of the preceding group, is a satirist like M. Brieux, but almost with a single aim. Of a stern pessimism, he assails the corruption of public life, the entanglement of political intrigue and finance. If Jules Lemaître, using again as it were the sober if unsparing pen of an Augier, brought politics upon the stage with his 'Deputé Leveaux,' the intention of M. Fabre is to leave no ignominy of office-seekers unexposed. He is novel, moreover, in his handling of the crowd, collaborating almost unconsciously in enormities from which the individuals, as such, who compose it might well shrink. In 'La Vie publique,' the electorate is at once subject and background; while as a further step his 'Ventres dorés,' his shareholders raging on the brink of ruin, are the whole action and many-headed protagonist. His vision penetrates, but is all too sinister. His scorn rings virile and true; but one remembers that for a satirist his very occupation would be gone, did he remit his hate and discover some soul of good not altogether stifled in evil, however flagrant. M. Fabre unduly simplifies after the fashion of his one-time colleagues of the Théâtre Libre. But he follows the bent of his talent, renewing Augier, and no small portion of Balzac's problem.

Any division of the contemporary dramatists into an elder and a younger group can only be artificial and for convenience. The prominent members of the younger group have already given the taste of their quality; their measure is fairly ascertained. If M. Henry Bataille and M. Henry Bernstein—they and M. Fabre were born within a few years of each other—be reasonably taken as representative, perchance there is to be discerned in them a certain tendency towards the disintegration of the current dramatic formula. But, after all, they are far from being as original and revolutionary as they would claim. At all events, they are in contrast, complementary each to the other.

M. Bataille is the poet, disillusioned and of a morbid charm; the psychologist intuitively versed in the complicated refinements of exceptional and equivocal feeling. His heroes mournfully delight in analysing their own subtle sorrows. His world is one in which

Digitized by Google

sensibility dominates, and instinct grasps at the vain promise of felicity. But social ordinances are not disregarded with impunity; the misery or ruin of the rebellious is a foregone conclusion for M. Bataille. Flaubert, long ago, in reaction against the Romanticists, had heaped disaster upon his Mme Bovary, with intent to show the folly of all aspiration to escape the dull and trivial round. M. Bataille's gallery of women, 'Maman Colibri' and the rest, are so many variants of the type. But, as poet or morbid poet of the heart, he is not ruthless, like Flaubert; he would even elicit sympathy for his pathetic victims of indefeasible nature. And if sensibility and sentiment are, with him, rather physical than psychical, he could doubtless plead that he follows old doctrine. It is the doctrine of Balzac, Sainte-Beuve and Taine; humanity lies prisoner in the bonds of material nature. 'Yet Ariel is to be found in Caliban.' Completing this phrase of his in a manifesto, M. Bataille declares that, in his newest judgment, the honour of humanity rests in spiritualising instinct. And accordingly, in 'Les Flambeaux,' he symbolises the *savants*, or rather the ideas that illumine the onward path of mankind—ideas that run counter, clashing with each other, leaving us in awed darkness, as M. François de Curel has told us. Be that as it may, M. Bataille, in his post-war 'Sœurs d'Amour,' has so far progressed along the onward path as to depict a passion that can impose a limit upon itself, like the elder morals and stage.

M. Henry Bernstein, also, reckons with physiology and pathology to the full, or overmuch. But he is plainly, abundantly, not the poet but the dramatist, concerned with will-power and action. If M. Bataille's attitude is that of tired acquiescence, of resignation to the ravages of neurasthenia, M. Bernstein is athirst for energy and the prompt deed. For the study of souls he has no care; his pathos is curt and harsh. What is of grace and delicacy can be left to M. Donnay and M. Bataille; for himself he elects rapid violence, the brutal effect. Of a truth, his characters are 'lively on the wires,' as Thackeray would say. His aim is reached, if he discovers the situation in which these characters, in high combat, must unbosom and reveal themselves in their complete abjection, interchanging buffets and

Digitized by Google

words that are equally staggering. One almost looks for the police to interfere. And yet he demands sympathy for his beasts of prey, for his Delilahs in the making or already made. And, so demanding, he further proclaims in manifestos his scorn of morals and a moralising stage. For him the task of exactly reflecting the state of the public in its anarchy. Examining the stress of human activity and its sources, he has come to the clear knowledge that each pursues, of nature and necessity and right, his own advantage. Adoring force, he is assuredly forceful in his dramas, as witness the very titles, 'La Griffe,' 'La Rafale.'

To consider the specialists in fantasy and farce, such as MM. Georges Courteline, Pierre Veber, Tristan Bernard, Jules Renard, Georges Feydeau, would be to discuss the peculiarities of French humour as now current. And there are other of the younger playwrights only to be omitted upon the allowable plea that not yet have they fully exhibited themselves. But it is impossible not to linger a moment with M. Sacha Guitry, and lightly touch upon the collaboration of MM. Caillavet and Flers, if only to illustrate still once more the wide divergences compatible with the present form of the drama. M. Sacha Guitry is persistently the darling of Parisian audiences. He is of the theatre by all closest connexion. He fits a father unchallenged in his art, and of late a wife of remarkable congruity, with parts that permit all virtuosity. Upon his own boards he sets forth a world of his own choosing. Clever and all too clever, the brilliant improviser, he could airily carry off his slightest sketch, even should he have enlarged it into comedy. How was he to be accused of non-morality or nihilism, since he elicited the constant peal of laughter? Delightfully deplorable, should not his defiance of convention, his universal irreverence, be set down to the account of youthful paradox and ebullience? Eminently French, with added years he was pretty sure to become some sort of moralist, even if he retained his vivacity. Already with a 'Pasteur' or a 'Jean de la Fontaine' he could alternate dignity and light malice. Such plays have their inherent defect, if only that they trade upon the preconceived lustre of dead heroes; but for M. Guitry there are no obstacles of

Digitized by Google

subject or technique which he cannot overleap with ease. And each success comes the more welcome to his audience that they were sure of it in advance.

The success also of M. Armand de Caillavet and M. Robert de Flers—but how shall the loss of the latter in the war be remedied?—was wide and insistent. They achieved anew the 'well-made' play which Scribe bequeathed to Dumas and Augier. They recalled Meilhac, or perhaps still more Pailleron—regretfully omitted above, along with Octave Feuillet—in delicate sparkle. They offered all possible bribes for glad acceptance. The tone of 'good' society, the adroitest sentiment, the happy ending—how should these fail? They might risk what they would in the way of light audacity, sure to provoke condoning smiles. They nicely anticipated the desire of the public, providing it at once with what was newest of the new, and with the characters and situations beloved for old acquaintance.

In delineating the various personalities of these dramatists, some discussion of technique has necessarily been involved. Throughout the period, there is a marked approximation of the drama to the novel of—it is presumed—outward and inward reality. The difference of the two *genres*, in their conditions, is sufficiently obvious. The one addresses itself to the imagination of a definite individual in his private leisure; and the other, with use of direct speech and gesture, confronts mixed tastes and the uncertain gusts of collective feeling. Nor is there any easy transference of the novel, even if already dramatic and concentrated, to the stage; the work should be conceived from the first in the one or the other mode. Dramatic 'optics' are also to be considered, and the special style, if the spoken word is to cross the footlights. The relations of plot and character are of anxious importance; the close-knit plot has its way of narrowing persons to puppets, while living character is the creative task of a Molière, a Balzac. But character moulds circumstance, and circumstance character. Drama, action, cannot reserve to itself the exhibition of will-power, leaving to the novel the pressure of environment. Moreover, the interpretative representation of life must reckon with the characteristics of a French

Digitized by Google

audience, not to be satisfied unless it feels rapidly borne to a definite goal. It requires the clear initial situation; and thereupon would either gratify its acute sense of logic by more or less sure prevision of the climax, or thrill in curiosity, suspense, surprise. And character, to suit these requirements, has to be reduced to consistency, and barely allowed growth and uncertainty. For the rest, the minor details of technique fare as they may. There is constant rebellion; in its turn the new procedure stiffens into convention; outworn expedients are discreetly revived as novelties. In brief, the dramatist must be the master of technique, and not allow it to master him.

And what of the *Mœurs*, the manners and moral tendencies which this Comedy presents? The future historian will draw upon a rich store of information. But it is always to be remembered that art, as Goethe said, is precisely art because it is not reality. Dramatic art proceeds upon conditions. If it take the form of pure comedy, does not comedy assume throughout that all the world is more or less mad and plays the fool? If it take that of the Comedy of Manners, of dramatic comedy, what is drama, action, but the accentuation, the necessary exaggeration, of whatever divides us and makes us suffer? Novel and drama alike thrive upon exceptional characters and cases. The more intense these are, the more painful; and pain in art is—pleasurable. The audience seeks pleasure of tears, or of mingled tears and laughter. Further, it has no special desire to be edified; it is well content to be amused, or thrilled. Amused and thrilled, it has no care to consult the exact relations of actual life and the life presented on the stage. It freely accepts illusion, and for the time being is gladly released from the daily use and wont, from respectability and social restraint.

With such thoughts, and more of the like, one may approach the uneasy question of that which furnishes the larger half of French dramatic wares. Necessarily so; for one may remember that love and money gave Balzac his all-embracing programme. And first, of love. Critics, even dramatists, may now and then call for a sweeping change, the ridding of a theme over-explored, outworn. They may express resentment that

Digitized by Google

the dignity of the French woman is compromised at home and abroad, may urge the lesson of Augier, insisting on the sound and family life. But then the whole Gallic nation has delighted, from the time of the Fabliaux-writers, in ridiculing marriage. Even when moved to idealism, as Trouvères and Troubadours, they sharply separated marriage and love. It was not until the Restoration that marriage came to be regarded seriously. So, at least, it is stated, with smiles or regrets. There followed the lawless individualism of the Romanticists. Then, reacting against this reaction, Augier counselled honour and right discipline, and Dumas *fils* pressed for the possibility of divorce, that marriage might thus be set on the firmer footing. It was even supposed that, with divorce, the dramatist would be robbed of half his range. But what merely ensued upon the passage of the Nacquet law was that, while the material for dramatic conflict was enlarged, the marriage-breach was presented with unabating ingenuity. For a passing novelty, the question of 'pardon' was set forth on the stage, and discussed. It had been raised already by the Romanticists; and the Russian literature of pity brought a new poignancy. But was not pardon mere weakness, or an insufferable arrogation of moral superiority? The question was dismissed; and the new cry was for enlargement of the grounds for divorce. Whereupon the younger and youngest dramatists discovered that the true remedy lay in the concession of full equality between the sexes. Economic equality, free concubinage and free separation, the unhampered rights of passion and caprice and selfishness being secured, the *ménage à trois*—the veritable three unities of the drama—would disappear. But would not marriage itself also disappear, and the field of dramatic conflict be abridged? Before such question could well be asked, that of 'the child' was raised. Marriage was found necessary, even if unpalatable to some or many; and the drama escaped desuetude.

The programme of Balzac, of Dumas *fils* and Augier further included the conflicts due to finance and politics. Scandal following scandal, the dramatist freely plies the lash of satire. 'Corrupting and corrupted' is the least charge laid upon the foul combination of politics and

Digitized by Google

finance. For private men, busied in their quest of woman and wealth, irony serves sufficiently. With the aid of the dramatist, they betray themselves as trifling, worthless, incapable of effort, inconspicuous either for good or evil. And these characteristics are emphasised by the critics, who note the likeness of to-day and the times preceding the crash of the Great Revolution. There is the same easy scepticism, they say; the same smiling nihilism, without the polish and elegance that once earned some slight condonation. The influence of the newer philosophy that would sever conduct from ethical considerations is also increasingly pervasive. Not that there is novelty in this, one might add; strenuous and unscrupulous egoism dates from hoary antiquity. The forceful of to-day, pursuing self-interest, is but the fool after the latest pattern, and thereby the fit subject of comedy, which welcomes him, if only he is lively enough in his trips and falls upon the path of fancied happiness. Looked at closely, when the dramatist has given us him, he is but a variation of the beast of prey that Balzac presented. While one misses Balzac's constant insistence, as it were in an undertone, that religion is necessary, even if only for a curb and social safeguard. Yet, upon the boards, the priest may make his occasional entrance, as an instrument of drama. The politico-religious question could suggest 'Le Duel' of M. Donnay, or the two dramas of M. Trarieux and M. Paul-Hyacinthe Loyson which considered the case of the child when its parents are opposed in belief. To be dramatic, religion must be matter of strife. Once more, it has to be remembered that the stage is the mirror of life; but also that its realism is dramatic, with all the limitations thus implied.

And what of French drama in the coming years? That the present epoch of the Comedy of Manners is not nearing its end is sufficiently apparent in the fact that no books are written by way of retrospective and critical summary. Meanwhile the material for such piles itself up, in the plays themselves, and the criticism which attends the production or revival of them. Above are cited as specimens of such criticism the work of M. René Doumic, austere and incisive, the most authoritative successor of M. Brunetière; and of M. Henry Bordeaux

Digitized by Google

the novelist, kindly, tolerant, but none the less intent to safeguard and promote traditional virtues. Lemaître's ten volumes, and the five of Faguet, make us but regret that they are not still more numerous. For the early years, Sarcey is indispensable, for all his limitations; and J. J. Weiss is notable for charm of style and the interesting prejudices of his enthusiasm and his dislikes. M. Brisson brings us to the verge of the war.

Returning to the question, it may be remarked that many or most of these critics have been moved from time to time to discover the signs of a new epoch, but presently have withdrawn their prophecy. In truth, a new form of the drama would require a marked variation in the equilibrium of the various classes of society, or new and arresting syntheses of feeling and thought. The continuous commercialisation of the stage, the persistent mediocrity—shall we say?—of the audience, are conditions also to be considered. War of itself brings no change, at least no speedy change. For victors and vanquished alike, ten or fifteen years had to elapse before the effects—mainly pessimistic—of the events in 1870-1 came into view. Preferably, one could wish for a coming era of poetic realism, for a sustained mood of high thought and feeling, vivid as was that of the Romanticism which followed upon the Napoleonic wars, but stable, less feverish and extravagant, touched to finer issues. But whatever its degree of poetry, it will almost certainly be an era of realism, or even with some touch of naturalism; for the French, with all their generous qualities, are also given to irony, as in fear to be the dupes of their own emotions. Or perchance, so elastic and variable is the formula of the Comedy of Manners, for long there will be development of the present drama rather than a new era. The programme of Dumas *fils*—to know mankind like Balzac and the theatre like Scribe—still offers an ample room. And in any case the French will not lightly relinquish the position which they hold as the nation with the longest and most continuous dramatic tradition.

GARNET SMITH.

Digitized by Google

Art. 8.—SOME LESSONS OF THE NAVAL WAR.

1. *Naval Operations (Official History of the War).* Vol. II. By Sir Julian Corbett. Longmans, 1921.
2. *Erinnerungen.* Von Alfred von Tirpitz, Grossadmiral. Leipzig: Köhler, 1919.
3. *Aus Aufzeichnungen und Briefen während der Kriegzeit, von Admiral Hugo von Pohl.* Edited by his wife. Berlin: Siegismund, 1920.
4. *Deutschlands Hochseeflotte im Weltkrieg. Persönliche Erinnerungen.* Von Adm. Scheer. Berlin: Scherl, 1920.
5. *Gallipoli Diary.* By Gen. Sir Ian Hamilton. Two vols. Arnold, 1920.

ADDRESSING the commanding officers of the Atlantic Fleet on Aug. 11, 1917, President Wilson said:

'Now when it comes to doing new things, and doing them well, I will back the amateur against the professional every time; because the professional does it out of the book, and the amateur does it with his eyes open upon a new world and a new set of circumstances. He knows so little about it that he is fool enough to do the right thing. . . .'

Lord Fisher's statement that 'to be a good Admiral, a man does not need to be a sailor. That's a common mistake,'* closely corresponds with Mr Wilson's view, and there can be no doubt that such heresies were not confined to these distinguished men. When the Great War at sea broke out, we were faced with 'new' technical developments the precise effect of which could not be foreseen; but the broad principles of naval strategy remained unchanged and unchangeable, and we suffered cruelly from failure to apply them. This weakness has almost invariably shown itself at the beginning of our naval wars; and we have been forced, at heavy cost, to relearn the pregnant lessons of the past. We now have before us the vast and varied experiences of the greatest war in history, and our salvation may depend upon whether we are able to read them aright and to base our policy upon their teaching. If in the future we are

* 'Memories.' We have in Blake a classic example of an Admiral who was not a sailor, and Admiral Sir R. N. Custance has shown how his great opponent, Van Tromp, profited thereby.

Digitized by Google

tempted to believe that the amateur 'who knows so little' can be trusted 'to do the right thing,' we can securely count upon a repetition of the lack of foresight and the mistakes which are now painfully apparent.

The Royal Navy, in July 1914, was relatively and absolutely more powerful than at any period at which it had been called upon to assert its traditional dominion of the sea. It was also, in a sense, better prepared for immediate action, and, as was abundantly proved, its *personnel* was incomparable. Nevertheless, there were radical defects—not wholly unrecognised—which inevitably caused disappointments, and gave rise to grave anxiety. For the superior direction of war at sea we were singularly ill-equipped. There was no real war staff at the Admiralty until the reorganisation in 1918; and for some time naval policy had been dominated by a school which placed material above the study of war and developed tendencies closely resembling those which, at an earlier date, had led to the erection of monumental fortifications in defiance of principles and quite unsuited to the requirements of the strongest naval power. From the initiation of the 'Dreadnought' policy in 1905, the prevailing idea seemed to be that the science of naval construction demanded a succession of monster ships which would relegate existing battle fleets to the scrap-heap and render foreign competition impossible. With sound instinct, Admiral Fisher detected *the* enemy, and he hoped, by the rapid building of super-'Dreadnoughts,' to force Germany to deepen the Kiel Canal, while we attained a position of such predominance in capital ships that the German fleet could be attacked and destroyed without difficulty. Unfortunately for the success of this programme, the essential condition—an attack on Germany at a selected moment—was incapable of fufilment.

Lord Fisher could say that, in May 1907, we had 7 'Dreadnoughts' and 3 'Dreadnought' battle-cruisers and Germany had 'none,' and that, in September 1912, 'we shall have 16 British "Dreadnoughts" with the 13½-in. gun before the Germans have one,' while he was planning to add an 'Incomparable' of 40,000 tons and 40 knots speed, with six 20-in. guns. But, as Sir Julian Corbett has pointed out, in January 1915, Admiral Jellicoe could only count on '18 "Dreadnoughts" and 8 "King

Digitized by Google

Edwards" against 17 German "Dreadnoughts" and 22 older battleships,'* while Admiral Beatty only disposed of 5 battle-cruisers against 4 of Germany. So far did realities fall short of anticipations! The 'Dreadnought' policy was vainly opposed at the time when Mr Balfour accepted it; and that it weakened our battle-line in the hour of trial, and gave Admiral von Tirpitz, who built later, a chance he was well qualified to seize is now generally admitted. The policy, once accepted, led us on to a path which could not be retraced; and the effect upon the navies of the world was financially disastrous. Incidentally, it seems clear that care for the safety of these excessively important units helped to deflect our naval strategy in the Great War.

There is another circumstance which cannot be overlooked. When Lord Fisher took office as First Sea Lord on Oct. 30, 1914, he brought with him a plan † for a vast combined expedition into the Baltic to effect a landing on the Pomeranian coast about ninety miles from Berlin. This plan, which involved the building of an Armada of 612 vessels of 13 classes, ranging from 5 special light-draught battle-cruisers of 33 knots to 36 sloops, was apparently accepted by the First Lord and the War Council and held the field until May 14, 1915, when Lord Fisher resigned. That the Admiralty, with all the intense preoccupation involved in the opening stages of the greatest naval war, should have been committed to immense military operations on land is terribly significant. This, stated Lord Fisher, is 'my main scheme of naval strategy.' The German Fleet could not be ignored, and accordingly he proposed to 'sow the North Sea with mines on such a huge scale that naval operations in it become impossible.'‡ Apparently the invading force was to consist largely of Russian troops,

* Our own older battleships were apparently not included as not being under Admiral Jellicoe's command.

† This plan was supported by a remarkable memorandum submitted by Sir Julian Corbett to the First Sea Lord 'in the early autumn of 1914.' He then pointed out that 'it may be well to consider the possibility of bringing our command of the sea to bear more actively. We have only to go back again to the Seven Years' War to find a means of doing this, which, if feasible under modern conditions, would promise success as surely as it did in the 18th century.'—'Records,' by Lord Fisher.

‡ 'Memories.' We had no effective mines at this time.

Digitized by Google

who might, or might not, be available, and the whole operation was essentially military. How far the building of the Armada was allowed to proceed, or to what extent it interfered with the urgent requirements of the war at sea, we do not know; but some of the vessels, and the 56 destroyers especially, were undoubtedly valuable additions. As Sir Julian Corbett writes, 'ever since his (Lord Fisher's) succession to office, he had been devoting all his well-known energy to its (the Armada's) preparation'; and the effects of this diversion of the energies of the Admiralty staff from naval to military objects cannot be estimated. Any one who studies the sea-approaches to the Baltic and who reflects that the Pomeranian expeditionary force must have entailed the continuous passage backwards and forwards of supply vessels and transports, can only come to the conclusion that the project, if translated into action, would have led to a disaster of the first magnitude.*

Materials for a critical history of the naval operations are accumulating. The Germans—political and professional—have proved prolific writers having grievances and recriminations to inspire them. Grand Admiral von Tirpitz in 'My Memories' has made a valuable contribution to naval history; but his book is somewhat marred by personal feeling, and has not received the recognition which it certainly deserves. No writer has shown a stronger grip of the principles of naval war of which the Admiralty before 1914 had lost sight; and the strain upon the British Navy would have been greatly intensified if his views had been allowed to prevail. 'It is evident,' writes Admiral Sir R. N. Custance, 'that Tirpitz grasped early in his career and understood the importance of sea power and of the battle at sea.' He was the real creator of the German fleet, and he set himself to improve upon the 'Dreadnoughts' which we were busily constructing. He considered that 'the supreme quality of a ship is that she shall remain afloat . . . and continue to fight,' which might, he believed, 'decide the issue of a naval engagement.' The result was a fleet of which the recent units were far less easily sunk than our

* One effect would have been to transfer to Germany geographical advantages superior to those which we possessed.

Digitized by Google

own;* and, as the German shells were distinctly more effective, a comparison of broadsides was fallacious. The High Seas Fleet was in fact more formidable than it appeared on paper, and Tirpitz believed that numerical inferiority was partly redressed by the superiority of *matériel*, to which Admiral Jellicoe has paid tribute.

Tirpitz was more than a sound naval strategist. He saw clearly that for Germany there was 'only one aim, to strike at the heart of the coalition'—Great Britain. He, therefore, advocated an offensive policy against us from the first, and he desired to strike straight for Calais, risking a fleet action if necessary. He realised instinctively that the guerilla warfare which followed the ill-conceived naval war orders was futile; and he condemned the casual use of submarines in the North Sea in place of concentrating them on the mouth of the Thames at the outset. In January 1916, he advocated 'immediate and relentless recourse to the submarine weapon' against commerce, in which von Falkenhayn concurred; and the postponement to February 1917, which he regarded as a mistake, led to his resignation. Viewing 'My Memories' in the light of our own and the German histories, the genius of Tirpitz as a director of war stands out plainly. Had he controlled the operations of the fleet, in which he believed, as its commanders did not, he would have proved a dangerous antagonist. Admiral Scheer has also made a useful contribution to naval history, supplementing and generally confirming British records, while his handling of the fleet at the battle of Jutland proves him to be a skilled tactician.

Whatever disabilities for the direction of war existed at the Admiralty in 1914, they were exceeded by the extraordinary system which Tirpitz stigmatised. The Great General Staff created by Von Moltke enjoyed an ascendancy which neither the Emperor nor the civil ministers could supersede. The Naval War Staff, however, seems to have been pulled hither and thither by functionaries who were able to obtain the ear of the Kaiser. The German official history, of which three

* The 'Goeben' is said to have struck mines three times, and to have been still able to steam; and Germany was spared such a tragedy as the destruction of our three battle-cruisers at the battle of Jutland.

Digitized by Google

volumes have now appeared, is remarkable for outspoken criticism of the system and its results. This and the publication of orders and contemporary official documents sharply differentiate it from Sir Julian Corbett's careful narrative of events, which shrinks from criticism, and in tantalising fashion omits official *pièces justificatives*. The interest of the German history centres upon the hopes and fears, the speculations and the decisions, of the various actors, more especially in the opening phases of the war. Our naval manœuvres had been the subject of meticulous study in order to obtain clues as to probable British strategy. It was expected in some quarters that we should take the offensive at once by a close blockade, utilising aircraft; and although the use of Scapa Flow was foreseen, Admiral von Ingenohl disbelieved in the distant blockade because of its effect on the United States, while Admiral Scheer thought that our prestige would demand at least some activity in the Bight. Doubt at first prevailed as to our participation in the War, and Admiral Behnke almost alone counted on our immediate action. Von Jagow was of opinion that we should hold our hand and await events; and the Kaiser seems to have been obsessed with the idea of an imminent attack by the Russians. Amid confused counsels, a general anxiety is prominent; and, as the German Foreign Office did not keep the Fleet commander informed, the preliminary measures showed signs of incertitude. There is an interesting comparison of the relative strengths of the two fleets; and the inferiority of the British battle-ships to 'ours of corresponding dates' is duly noted. The scientific knowledge of the German navy is rated highly; but the British temperament and leadership are recognised as formidable factors.

At length speculations as to the attitude of Great Britain ended, and at 7.30 p.m. on Aug. 4, the 'Königin Luise,' of the Hamburg-America Line, was ordered to the mouth of the Thames. After laying a minefield, she was sunk by the 'Amphion' and some destroyers; but, on the following day, the 'Amphion,' returning, was sunk by a German mine. At daybreak on the 5th a submarine was sighted off Heligoland, and the German light cruisers on patrol were withdrawn. The

Digitized by Google

first long-distance cruise of the German submarines followed, with the loss of two boats; but the moral effect of their appearance far north was important. The war thus began, as the German history states, with an exaggerated fear of submarines on both sides. The days passed on without any British attack, and on Aug. 19, the Chief of the Naval Staff concurred in the opinion that the intention on our side was to avoid losses. On the 28th, the 'lightning blow' fell in the Bight, as a 'bitter lesson.' The German light cruisers were not supported. The loss was 'peculiarly serious,' and the effect depressing. Tirpitz states that it strengthened the hand of the persons who could influence the Kaiser and the Chancellor against his policy. We did not at the time realise the importance of this action, which was due to the appearance of our battle-cruisers, despatched by Admiral Jellicoe's advice.* On the other hand, it would have ended differently if German heavy ships close at hand had reinforced the light cruisers. As the official history states, the naval authorities were 'hypnotised by the submarine,' and 'overlooked the fact' that attack is the best defence.†

The story of the Yorkshire raid of Dec. 16 is lucidly told by Sir Julian Corbett, who points out that, as a cruiser raid only was expected, Admiral Jellicoe 'was not moved down to support.' Apparently, therefore, the elaborate dispositions were made at the Admiralty under the impression that the High Seas Fleet would not go to sea. The operation is most instructive as showing the difficulty of concerted action in thick weather; but again fear of the torpedo supervened to defeat strategy. Von Ingenohl with the High Seas Fleet turned tail at 6.10 a.m., leaving the raiding force without support, to the disgust of Von Tirpitz, who declared that he held 'the fate of Germany in the palm of his hand.' The German Admiral seems to have considered himself bound by the Kaiser's War Orders that the fleet was to

* The plan seems to have been drawn up at the Admiralty without consultation with the Commander-in-Chief.

† The German Commander-in-Chief significantly reported: 'This teaches us that in similar operations, we must either keep back our forces as much as possible, however difficult this may be, or the whole fleet must go to sea at once and accept the risk of submarines.'

Digitized by Google

be brought to action only 'in favourable conditions,' when equalisation of force had been attained by guerilla methods. But for the weather, the conditions were peculiarly favourable; but orders of this nature, like those which led to the disastrous failure to sink the 'Goeben,' are always dangerous in the absence of the Nelsonic spirit. Admiral Scheer also attributes this failure to 'the restrictions enforced on the Commander-in-Chief.' Sir Julian Corbett admits that the Germans had a chance, but does not say that it was due to the Admiralty, which, by not moving Admiral Jellicoe and by dividing our forces, took an unjustifiable risk. At the same time, the Admiralty deprived our submarines, which it had stationed off Terschelling, of an opportunity of intercepting the German fleet. Commodore Keyes, knowing perfectly what his course should be, could not get orders from Whitehall till 3.15 p.m., and arrived in the Bight too late.*

The object of this raid, which was futile as a war measure, is not clear; but, like the later Zeppelin attacks, it was probably a manifestation of the German belief in terrorism. General Ludendorff's book indicates the reality of this belief. On the other hand, it may have been intended to inspire a fear of invasion among the masses after the manner attempted by Napoleon.

Sir Julian Corbett remarks that the 'apathy' shown by the Germans after the destruction of Von Spee's squadron

'was only to be explained by an intention to husband their fleet for some sudden blow when the long winter nights would give them the best chance of evasion and surprise.'

And he further refers to

'The anxious period of stormy weather and long, dark nights so favourable for any desperate enterprise of the navy. . . . The long winter nights were especially favourable for a combined expedition.'

It may well be true, as he says, that the pre-war propaganda in favour of compulsory service had 'done nothing to diminish our natural sensitiveness to threats of

* E 11 fired one torpedo, which ran too deep, as happened on many occasions in the early months of war.

Digitized by Google

invasion'; but, for landing troops and guns on a hostile shore, the prime necessities are long days and calm weather. The apparent 'apathy' of the Germans is sufficiently explained by their helplessness; and the reasons which led to the husbanding of their fleet are made clear in the official history, which follows Tirpitz in sharply condemning them. As Sir Julian Corbett tells us, the Admiralty, on Dec. 14, ordered Admiral Hood 'not to hazard ships if the weather continued bad'; and elsewhere, when dealing with the attack on the Dardanelles fixed for April 23, 1915, he notes 'fine weather essential.' When writing of the futile plans of a Russian attack on Constantinople, he wisely observes:

'For so long as the enemy had a battle cruiser (the "Goeben") free to move in the Black Sea, it would mean high risk to pass an Army Corps across it.'

It would indeed; but he does not make it clear whether the Admiralty, which alone could claim competence to decide a purely naval question, offered any determined opposition to the irrational fears that, at certain junctures, gravely prejudiced the conduct of the war. He tells us, however, that preparations were actually made for blocking some of the Eastern ports, and 'disabling their wharf gear'; and the invasion scare seems to have been raised in May 1915 by the 'highest (military?) authority,' although by this time the naval position in the North Sea had been strengthened by stationing a powerful force in the Forth.

Admiral Sir A. Wilson had opposed the inclusion of the Harwich Flotilla with the forces under the command of Admiral Jellicoe, apparently on the ground that it would arrive 'many hours too late' to prevent a landing. The result was that, at the battle of Jutland, the chance of bringing Commodore Tyrwhitt's fresh and most efficient force to bear upon the High Seas Fleet retreating in a shaken condition was irretrievably lost.

The German official history gives no idea of any intention to violate the most elementary teaching of naval war by attempting invasion; but, in summarising our geographical advantages, it simply states that the British fleet, by concentrating on the exits from the North Sea, could discharge its 'chief duties,' and at the same

Digitized by Google

time 'the British Isles were secure against invasion.' I had made a careful study of the question of invasion from the historical point of view and written copiously on the subject long before the war; and Mr Balfour, in 1905, made a valiant attempt to reduce the whole question to a basis of reason. All this proved worthless in our hour of need. In August 1914, two divisions were held back just when their presence with General French was most urgently required; and alike at the Dardanelles and in March 1918, when the great German push was known to be imminent, the fears which Nelson at St Vincent scornfully derided led to the unnecessary sacrifice of gallant lives. The effects of the invasion scare upon the conduct of the Great War will not be forgotten by enemy propagandists.

The Dogger Bank action of Jan. 24, 1915, was brought about by a German reconnaissance. Admiral Hipper's orders were to go to sea on the evening of the 23rd with the 1st and 2nd Scouting Groups and to return after dark on the following day. According to the German official account, the Admiral arranged to be at the S.E. corner of the Bank at daylight. Proceeding northwards he sighted British forces at 8.14 a.m., and, as stronger forces were reported later, he turned in succession to a S.E. course and steamed full speed for the Bight. Admiral Beatty's battle-cruisers drew up faster than was expected, and at 11.48 the 'Blücher' was dropping astern. At 12 noon, Admiral Hipper signalled to his destroyers to 'stand by for attack' and annulled this order at 12.7 p.m. because the British squadron had turned away to the north.* Sir Julian Corbett gives an excellent account of the action with new and important details. The report of the presence of submarines, which was false, caused Admiral Beatty to alter course eight points together at 10.54 a.m.; and at 11.2 a.m., after the 'Lion' had been partly disabled and was falling astern, he signalled 'course N.E.' An unfortunate misunderstanding now occurred, and Admiral Beatty's last signal, 'keep closer to the enemy,' was not taken in by any battle-cruiser. Admiral Moore in the 'Tiger' seems to have believed that his task was to destroy the 'Blücher';

* The times given do not quite agree with ours.

Digitized by Google

and the three remaining battle-cruisers escaped though already 'half-beaten.' A combination of circumstances, which Sir Julian Corbett explains with the help of two good plans, led to the loss of a great opportunity. The 'whole movement,' which involved the Grand Fleet and the Harwich Flotilla, 'worked to time like a clock'; but the result was sadly disappointing. It is difficult to understand why the Germans, in the state of mind which their official history discloses, took so great a risk; and Admiral Hipper decided to retreat only just in time. Another half-hour must apparently have led to the destruction of his heavy ships. Incidentally, the German battle-cruisers justified the expectations of Von Tirpitz. 'For three hours . . . the focus of an overwhelming concentration of fire,' the 'Blücher' 'never ceased to reply'; and the 'Seydlitz,' heavily hit astern, and on fire, did not lose her speed.

In both the British and the German histories the submarine figures largely as the factor which exercised almost a controlling influence on naval strategy and tactics in the North Sea; but there is one marked difference. Sir Julian Corbett does not suggest that this condition may have been partly psychological and that the menace was exaggerated. On the other hand, the German writer frequently notes the failure of the submarine, constantly complains of the restrictions which it was permitted to impose on the fleet, and generally reflects the views of Von Tirpitz. The one seems to acquiesce in a cautiously defensive policy, which the other resents. After the sinking of the 'Audacious' and the collision of the 'Conqueror' and 'Monarch,' which temporarily reduced the 2nd Battle Squadron to 5 units, still leaving us with a large superiority, we are told that 'even this blow did not shake the determination of the Admiralty to keep their hold on the North Sea.' The abandonment of the North Sea would have been a disaster, and this implied testimony to the courage shown by the Admiralty is somewhat startling. The German view is that the German fleet could have done more if it had not been restrained on political grounds and 'hypnotised' by the submarine. It is probably true that chances were lost in the North Sea during the earlier phases of the war; but, as it is pointed out,

Digitized by Google

'Only a great leader could, on his own responsibility, have broken away from the difficult and enforced defensive, and carried the fleet with him.' ('Der Kreig zur See.')

The difference in the point of view is quite natural. The anxiety felt and the severe strain thrown upon the Admiralty as the German submarines appeared successively in the far North, and in the Irish Sea and English Channel, where the attack on commerce began, are plentifully reflected in the pages of Sir Julian Corbett. The loss of warships, mainly due to the want of caution at first, was considerable. The 'Pathfinder,' sunk by U21 on Sept. 5, 1914, is claimed by the Germans as the first success obtained by a torpedo fired from a submarine. On Sept. 22, U9, ordered to the Straits of Dover, met and sunk the three 'Cressys' engaged in a leisurely patrol. Such criminal neglect would have been impossible if a competent War Staff had existed. Of the loss of the 'Formidable' Sir Julian Corbett states that there was 'a lack of precision in the orders issued by the War Staff,' and that 'ordinary precautions' were not taken. The dangerous piratical attack on commerce, which later developed and which only a great maritime people could have withstood, left a profound impression on the British mind. The German official historian was not similarly influenced. The marvellous exploits of our young officers in the Baltic and at the Dardanelles must never be forgotten; but our submarines found few targets and, though useful for purposes of reconnaissance, were of more moral than material value in the naval war.

We are now in a position to review the operations as a whole, and the latest official verdict of the Admiralty delivered at Washington by the First Lord is that:

'The U-boat, whether considered as an offensive or a defensive weapon against any sort of organised naval force, had proved contemptible.'

To which Mr. Balfour added:

'Submarines are a powerful weapon for one purpose only—the destruction of commerce.'

If this expresses the considered judgment of the Admiralty, how was it that strategy and tactics were, on both sides, deflected and confused by the untried

Digitized by Google

weapon now pronounced to be 'contemptible'? A partial explanation is to be found in the book of Captain A. Gayer,* the head of the submarine branch of the German Admiralty, and in the articles of Captain R. Castex † of the French Navy. The German writer states that the war on commerce was begun at first without any definite policy, and that it was started too soon because an immediate victory on land was expected. It was quickly realised that our destroyers should not be attacked unless exceptional chances presented themselves. Incidentally he claims that the loyalty of the submarine service 'outlasted the collapse of our naval power.'

Captain Castex holds that the success of German submarines was due to the errors of the Allies, whose War Staffs were defective, and who were preoccupied with defensive measures. He traces the revival of the old practice of arming merchant ships, of patrolled routes, which failed, and of escorted convoys,‡ which gave excellent results. He points out that the inadequacy of the torpedo led to the mounting of guns on the submarines, of which our 'M1,' carrying a 12-in. gun, was an extreme example. He is not impressed by the submarine cruiser, which played the part of the 'surface pirates of old,' but imposed escorts upon the trans-Atlantic traffic. His general contention is that the Germans lost the war for want of a proper 'liaison of arms.' As regards shipbuilding policy, he maintains, in common with some able British officers, that the battle cruiser is 'a bad cruiser and a bad battleship,' and that 'imposing battleships have been built upon imperfect foundations.'

Admiral Sir R. N. Custance, whose valuable studies of the Russo-Japanese War seem to have produced little impression on our naval authorities, made a scientific analysis of the effects of the torpedo in that most instructive conflict.§ He discovered that theory and

---

* 'Submarines in War.'

† 'Synthèse de la guerre sous-marine': 'La Revue Maritime.'

‡ For reasons which I have never been able to understand, it was accepted as an axiom that convoys were impracticable in modern war. Before the Great War, I strongly combated this theory, which has now proved baseless.

§ 'The Whitehead Torpedo in War,' 1914.

Digitized by Google

experience were in complete accordance, giving about 5½ per cent. of hits. 'I shall not expect,' he wrote, 'against single ships, much better results' in the Great War which had just begun, and the actual results justified his forecast.

Before 1914 we had worked hard to develop the submarine; but that special forethought was necessary to meet the menace of an enemy's under-water boats was apparently not realised. The eastern harbours of Cromarty and the Forth were not provided with effective protection when the war broke out. Scapa Flow seems to have been regarded at first as beyond the range of submarines—a belief that was rudely dispelled by their early appearance there.* It followed that, for many months, the anxiety for the safety of the anchorages of the Grand Fleet, which inevitably prevailed, exercised a cramping effect on our strategy. The fact that a part of our battle forces was at one time taken to the Irish coast—which happily the Germans did not know—shows clearly the psychological effect of the submarine.

Even methods of avoiding submarine attack seem to have been after-thoughts, and for some time the mercantile marine was without instructions, which later led to the escape of many vessels. The depth charge had been suggested before the War, but remained to be worked out. Similarly the use of aircraft awaited organisation. When at length measures of attacking the submarine pressed for consideration, the energy and resource of our younger naval officers and scientists secured fair play, and towards the end of the war means of detecting and destroying the U-boat became highly developed. With our present knowledge, the risks attaching to under-water operations will be vastly increased; but it must be admitted that we began the war without any clear idea as to how the new weapon, which we had ourselves encouraged, should be met.

Whether the Admiralty expected a submarine attack on our mercantile marine, with savage disregard of the lives of crews and passengers, is not known; but this danger was proclaimed in advance by Admiral Sir Percy

* Captain Gayer states that, in the middle of August 1914, U21 made a cruise of 1600 miles, which he claims as a record.

Digitized by Google

Scott in the 'Times,' and he quoted from a letter, written by a foreign naval officer, in support of his view. The controversy which thus arose in June and July 1914 is of some interest in the light of events. Sir P. Scott's main contention was that we should scrap all our surface warships except 'a few fast cruisers, provided we can find a place to keep them in safety during war time.' He proposed to 'close egress from the North Sea and Mediterranean' by submarines, in which case he found it 'difficult to see how our commerce could be much interfered with.'* He argued that:

'The fourth function of a battleship is to attack an enemy's fleet; but there will be no fleet to attack, as it will not be safe for a fleet to put to sea.'

He 'would undertake to get . . . into any harbour, and sink or materially damage all the ships in that harbour' with submarines. We know better now, and Sir P. Scott has apparently abandoned his more extravagant theories. The important part which the fleet of Von Tirpitz played in the Great War stares us in the face. Our submarines, handled with conspicuous daring, could neither prevent that fleet from going to sea nor reach its bases; and it was controlled only by the presence in the North Sea of the Grand Fleet, in a constant state of readiness. The existence of the High Seas Fleet and the possibility that it might at any time issue from the Bight effectually prevented us from sealing the egress of the German submarines, as Earl Beatty has pointed out, and at the date of the Yorkshire raids it had a chance of dealing with inferior British forces. In the controversy just before the outbreak of war, I maintained that:

'Our true policy is perfectly plain. As we did when the advent of the torpedo-boat was regarded as a serious menace, so now when the submarine is extolled, we must endeavour by all possible means to increase our power of attacking the newcomer. . . . The introduction of the submarine entails a new risk upon fleets at sea. The measure of that risk we have at present no means of determining with accuracy; but,

* How our commerce in the Mediterranean was to be protected he did not explain.

Digitized by Google

judging from all past experience, it will prove much less than the protagonists of the submarine now imagine.' *

The total abandonment of submarines, as proposed by our delegates at the Washington Conference, would have the great advantage of relieving us from costly preparations which, after our bitter experience, could not be neglected. Unless a binding agreement to use submarines only under the restrictions which applied to surface cruisers before the Germans flung the traditions of the sea to the winds can be concluded by all naval Powers, the menace, subject to geographical considerations, will remain in proportion to commerce afloat. Our complete dependence on free over-sea communications sharply differentiates our position from that of other nations; and we dare not take risks.

The declarations made at Washington show how far the official pendulum has now swung over. Our losses of warships in the Great War, due to the submarine, seem to have reached a total of about 37, and about 32 were sunk by mines, while 'of merchant shipping the total sunk by enemy action when in convoy formation (in the Atlantic) was 61 ships, or a percentage of two-thirds of one per cent.' † The American troops sent to Europe numbered 2,086,000, and 'no American troop transport was lost on its eastward voyage.' In all, the American Army Transport lost at sea 200,000 deadweight tons, of which 142,000 tons were sunk by torpedoes.‡ Used for legitimate military purposes, the German submarines proved a failure. They were unable to prevent or seriously to interfere with the transit of 15,000,000 troops to and from France. They were powerless to check the steady influx of the great American Army. The ruthless campaign against commerce assumed dangerous proportions, but was stemmed as soon as organised methods had been brought into play, and against any Power independent of foreign supplies would have proved futile. It is possible that, if the submarines had been concentrated on military objects, they would have obtained better results, especially in the earlier stages

* The 'Times,' July 14, 1914.

† See the 'Naval Annual,' 1919. These figures exclude auxiliaries.

‡ 'Statistical Summary,' published by the American General Staff.

Digitized by Google

of the war, when we were unprepared to attack them. In any case, some military uses of the submarine remain, and the Admiralty verdict that they are 'contemptible' except for 'the destruction of commerce' needs the qualifications which Captain Castex supplies.

A great part of Sir Julian Corbett's volume is devoted to the Dardanelles expedition, on the initiation and direction of which he throws new light, which is supplemented by General Sir Ian Hamilton's painful daily records.* The idea of opening up the route to the Black Sea was admirable; and there can be no doubt that a striking success could have been attained if the methods of the amateur—extolled by President Wilson—had not been adopted. The Reports of the Royal Commissions on the operations at the Dardanelles and in Mesopotamia revealed the fact that we employed no effective machinery for reaching decisions on vital matters of war policy, which required the full presentation of all relevant experience. No other nation has such vast and varied annals of combined operations—some brilliantly successful, some shocking failures. An old writer, beginning with the time of the Romans, traces the story of such operations to 1759, when the Seven Years' War was still in progress, and draws the moral. As he justly says:

'It is a palpable Demonstration, from the Number of Conjunct Armaments these Kingdoms have fitted out, and the many fruitless Attempts that have been the Issue of them, that there has been no right Industry, no Skill or Watchful Observation. . . . Thus, when it is too late, by knowing nothing beforehand, we doubly fatigue our mental Faculties, with the vain Hopes of retrieving lost Opportunities; the Consequence of this is, we flounder and flounce about.' †

It was left to the Great War to furnish the most striking example of the truth of this century-and-a-half old generalisation. Sir Julian Corbett conveys the impression of chaotic councils, sharply divided opinions, vague aims, and a total neglect to ascertain known facts. By Jan. 15, 1915, the question as to where the new armies were to be employed pressed for decision. General French looked for 'no decisive result' in the West, but

* 'Gallipoli Diary.'

† 'Conjunct Expeditions,' by Thomas More Molyneux, Esq.

Digitized by Google

expressed the 'strong conviction' that our whole military force should be employed in France. The Germans were planning an invasion of Egypt; and the Grand Duke Nicholas, in great difficulties in Poland and Galicia, appealed to Lord Kitchener for help. The latter suggested 'a naval demonstration at the Dardanelles.' Already, however, a useless 'test bombardment' had been carried out on Nov. 3, 1914, against the opinion of Lord Fisher and Admiral Sir H. Jackson, and the Germans had been thus forewarned. The 'naval demonstration' could only have the effect of ensuring the strengthening of the defences of the Straits. Mr Churchill, however, seems to have cherished a far more ambitious naval design, and he communicated with Admiral Carden, who reported that the passage could not be 'rushed,' but might be forced by attractive stages which he detailed. The forts were to be destroyed by an 'overwhelming fire at decisive ranges of from 3000 to 4000 yards.' On Jan. 28, 1915, a momentous Council was held at which a 'final decision' (Lord Fisher alone dissenting) was taken to attack the Dardanelles; but 'nothing definite was said about the troops,' though 'it was understood' that by March 15 two divisions would be available from France. 'There was no frank adoption of a new theatre for our offensive'; and plans for diversions at Salonica and Cattaro apparently remained in the air. It was a fateful decision, arrived at in opposition to 'the best naval opinion.' A purely naval operation, certain to fail, was thus entered upon, for which the Board of Admiralty had no responsibility. As Mr Churchill informed the House of Commons on March 20, 1915, 'The Board of Admiralty was never consulted about war operations.' The question of the Dardanelles, says Sir Julian, was 'pre-eminently a matter for Ministers to decide'; and, as Mr Asquith explained in the House of Commons on Nov. 2, 1915,

'Sometimes it is not only expedient but necessary to run risks or encounter dangers which pure naval or military policy would warn you against.'

It is, however, neither necessary nor expedient to decide upon a course which a long range of experience proves to be impossible.

Digitized by Google

Sir Julian Corbett plainly shows his doubts, and his general verdict is that the fatal decision taken on Jan. 28, 1915, was 'a compromise between two ideas'; but for reasons that are not clear he cites the inapposite example of the capture of Gibraltar by Rooke in 1704. On this memorable occasion, the British fleet overwhelmed the inadequate defences and the town by an avalanche of 15,000 shot; and the boats' crews, led by Captains Hicks and Jumper, did the rest. It is usually forgotten that the Marines, English and Dutch, to the number of 1800, were landed on the isthmus on the previous day (July 21) to isolate the small garrison. There are many such examples of the success of naval bombardments of old type, including Algiers (1816) and Acre (1840); but conditions steadily moved against the ship. So early as July 29, 1794, Nelson, asked by a general to bombard Calvi, wrote to Lord Hood:

'I took the liberty of observing that the business of laying wood before walls was much altered of late, and that, even if they had no hot shot, which I believe they had, the quantity of powder and shot which would be fired away on such an attack would be much better directed from a battery on shore.'

Sir Julian makes the remarkable statement that:

'Owing to new technical developments the chance of a fleet against a fortified naval position could not be measured by the most accomplished experts with any degree of certainty.'

On the contrary, it was necessary only to study past experience to arrive at a very different conclusion. On July 25, 1882, I was ordered to Alexandria to make an exhaustive report on the effects of the bombardment. All the hits made on the Egyptian works, all the guns dismounted or disabled, all the ammunition fired by our ships and their movements were duly recorded. The general and inevitable deductions from this great practical experiment were:

'Against any well-designed works, a bombardment properly so called is likely to be quite ineffectual, and well-protected guns can be silenced only by firing shells into the embrasures. . . .

'A well-built open battery does not offer one large target

Digitized by Google

to a ship but a number of very small targets—the embrasures —which at moderately long ranges cannot be distinctly seen. . . .

'Guns firing projectiles with high velocities are not well suited for dealing with earth parapets. . . . It is possible that the new guns may prove to be even less effective than existing ordnance.'

Compare the above with Sir Julian Corbett's remark:

'It began to be clear, in fact, that nothing short of a direct hit would knock out a gun.'

Or the following passages:

'Great accuracy of fire will be obtained from ships only under exceptionally favourable conditions, at moderate ranges and when stationary.' (1882.)

'Necessary accuracy for a direct hit was scarcely to be hoped for by direct fire unless the ships were anchored.' (1921.)

Trained gunners could easily have beaten off the fleet at Alexandria in spite of all the gross defects of the works attacked. In my book, published in 1900,* I pointed the moral, adding a number of striking instances dating back to the 18th century and including the most instructive operations at Sebastopol, in the American Civil War, and at Sfax. In the 2nd edition (1907) I was able to give particulars of bombardments at San Juan and Santiago † (1898) and Port Arthur (1904), all conclusive against the decision taken on Jan. 28, 1915. This whole mass of historical experience was ignored by our directors of war, but had been carefully noted and applied by the Japanese. It is pathetic to read that, on Feb. 26, the 'Majestic' went into action with a howitzer on each turret, considering that experiments carried out in 1886 proved that a howitzer capable of most accurate shooting at 2400 yards could not, when mounted on board a ship anchored in smooth water, 'place a shell within 20 yards of a conspicuous target flag at only 1500 yards.' ‡

Sir Julian Corbett gives an admirable narrative of the successive naval attacks, which began on Feb. 19,

* 'Fortifications, Past, Present, and Future.' Murray.

† Bombarded on ten occasions by the powerful American fleet.

‡ 'Fortifications': 'Two rounds fired with the same elevation on the same day gave a difference in range of 370 yards.'

Digitized by Google

and soon became obviously hopeless after a considerable loss of ships. The operations from first to last reflect infinite credit on the Navy, which showed patience, resourcefulness, and daring beyond praise, while the French proved loyal and staunch Allies. Already, on Feb. 16, the Admiralty had been directed to collect transports, and on the 20th troops were ordered to be prepared in Egypt; but at Whitehall there was no clear idea how military force was to be applied, and when Admiral Carden proposed the occupation of the tail of the Peninsula, the War Office said that this 'was not necessary for the reduction of the forts.' In an atmosphere of illusion, the preparations went on; and on March 12, Lord Kitchener suddenly sent for Sir Ian Hamilton and said, 'We are sending a military force to support the fleet now at the Dardanelles, and you are to have command.' It then appeared that about 80,000 men were to be available, of which the 29th Division was to be only a loan. On the 13th Sir Ian Hamilton started, without definite instructions, accurate information as to the Turkish strength, maps, or an administrative Staff. A request for aeroplanes had been met by a curt 'not one,' and the provision of artillery was evidently quite inadequate. All this was settled at the War Council of March 10; and Sir Julian Corbett remarks that 'up to this time' the objective was Constantinople and there was 'no intention' of forcing the Dardanelles by a combined operation. Thus, in true amateur fashion, was launched the great enterprise which was to end in total failure. The Navy was employed in work which is not the business of a fleet. The Army was to be used, grudgingly and ill-equipped, after the enemy had gained time to create an exceptionally strong position, which he was always free to reinforce.

The story of the fated expedition is told in the tragic pages of Sir Ian Hamilton's diary; and, as he gives successive telegrams and letters which he sent and received, no doubts as to causes of failure remain. He reached Tenedos on March 17, went straight to a discussion with the British and French naval commanders, and telegraphed at once to Lord Kitchener that the Admiral, 'while not making light of dangers, was evidently determined to exhaust every effort before calling upon

Digitized by Google

the soldiers for their help on a large scale.' But at a further conference on March 22, 'the moment we sat down, de Robeck told us he was now quite sure he could not get through without the help of all my troops.' The *dictum* of the War Office was thus upset by inexorable facts; and henceforth the military object was to land as many men as possible in the shortest time. Inspection showed that the Turkish defences were already formidable and increasing.* Lemnos was unfit to become the military base; and Sir Ian Hamilton proceeded to Alexandria to organise his promiscuous forces, which gave the Turks under Liman von Sanders time to strengthen their defences.

At dawn on April 25, the landing began; by 5.35 a.m. 4000 men were on shore, and in 24 hours the number was increased to 29,000. It was a splendid feat of arms rendered possible only by devoted gallantry and the infinitely valuable covering fire of the ships. At most of the six beaches, the Turkish defences were formidable, and behind them elaborate preparations had been made. The plan of cutting off a part of the enemy's forces failed completely, and on the 27th Sir Ian Hamilton telegraphed to Lord Kitchener that:

'Sedd-el-Bahr was a dreadful place to carry by open assault, being a labyrinth of rocks, galleries, ruins, and entanglements. . . . With all the devoted help of the Navy, it has taken us a day's hard fighting to make good our footing. Achi Baba, only a cannon-shot distance, will be attacked to-morrow.'

The painful story of supremely gallant efforts and of hopes always deferred is told in full detail by Sir Julian Corbett and illuminated by the intimate knowledge of Sir Ian Hamilton. To the end, it was only a 'footing' on the Peninsula that could be maintained with growing difficulties and great hardships. Always the enemy dominated the positions, hardly won by our forces with their backs to the sea and wholly dependent on supplies landed on open beaches, some of them under constant fire. The commanding ridge of Sari Bair was never occupied, and Achi Baba was still two miles from our front when the final withdrawal took place.

* 'The real place looks a much tougher nut to crack than it did over the map.'—Letter to Lord Kitchener.

Digitized by Google

The most startling portions of the 'Gallipoli Diary' are those which reveal the shortage of ammunition fatal to successful attacks, and the abounding illusions which prevailed at the War Office. In reply to an urgent appeal for shells, Sir Ian Hamilton was informed by telegram that:

'The ammunition supply for your force, however, was never calculated on the basis of a prolonged occupation of the Gallipoli Peninsula. We will have to reconsider the position if, after the arrival of the reinforcements, now on their way out to you, the enemy cannot be driven back. . . . It is important to push on.'

This telegram and many others indicate hopeless misconceptions of the nature of the operations. To the last, our forces were always short of artillery ammunition and suffered cruelly in consequence, while the French 75's were well supplied. Even more remarkable is the game of cross-purposes in regard to reinforcements which the 'Diary' reveals. On July 29, Lord Kitchener stated:

'You have a total of about 205,000 men for the forthcoming operations.'

This announcement caused blank amazement among the harassed Staff; and it was necessary to point out that no allowance had been made for non-effectives and casualties, that some of the reinforcements could not be in time for the operations, that others were not known to be at Sir I. Hamilton's disposal, and that:

'For the coming operations the number of rifles available is about half the figure you quote, viz. 120,000.'

On Aug. 25, Lord Kitchener expressed

'sad disappointment . . . that the troops have not been able to do better and that the drafts and reinforcements sent out to you and Egypt, excluding any you have drawn from Egypt, amounting from Aug. 6 to 47,000, have not proved sufficient to enable you to contemplate holding your positions.'

This 47,000 men presented an inexplicable problem to the Staff, because, although Lord Kitchener telegraphed on the following day:

Digitized by Google

'But you should look on the forces in Egypt and your own as a whole, allowing, of course, for the proper defence of Egypt,'

the General Officer commanding there had proved always unwilling to meet Sir I. Hamilton's urgent appeals, although he never disposed of less than 70,000 men, a strength far greater than was needed after the miserable fiasco of the Turkish attack on the Suez Canal in the first week of February. Of this feeble effort Sir Julian Corbett rightly says:

'The only wonder is that it was not punished more severely than it was. There was no real pursuit, nor even a serious attempt to harass the retreat.'

From the military point of view, this episode was thoroughly discreditable; but it passed almost unnoticed in the tremendous drama of the Great War.

Sir Julian Corbett's narrative ends with the resignations of Lord Fisher and Mr Churchill, followed by the reconstruction of the Government. Sir Ian Hamilton's Diary closes with the telegram of Oct. 16, announcing that the War Council 'wish to make a change in the command, which will give them the opportunity of seeing you.' The curtain was soon to fall on one of the greatest military tragedies of our history. The success of the Dardanelles Expeditionary Force would have instantly reacted upon the situation elsewhere* and would almost certainly have kept Bulgaria neutral. It was within our grasp, if all our available resources of men and *matériel* had been brought to bear, even after the initial blunders. Regarded as a 'side show,' it was certain to fail. Yet the failure was glorious. Never have the finest qualities of the British race shone more brilliantly in conditions so terribly discouraging. No troops have been more severely tried than those who fought and died in the Gallipoli Peninsula. The story of their devotion and endurance will live in our annals; but through it all runs the trail of the amateur who 'knows so little' that he can be trusted to 'do the right thing.'

SYDENHAM OF COMBE.

* 'Should the Dardanelles fall, then the world war has been decided against us:' 'My Memories.' Von Tirpitz.

Digitized by Google

Art. 9.—LORD SALISBURY.

The Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury. By his daughter Lady Gwendolen Cecil. Vols I and II (1830-1880). Hodder & Stoughton, 1921.

'THE greatest teacher of all in Parliament,' says Bagehot, 'the head-master of the nation, the great elevator of the country—so far as Parliament elevates it—must be the Prime Minister: he has an influence, an authority, a facility in giving a great tone to discussion, or a mean tone, which no other man has.' This office, if one may call it so, of which Bagehot speaks, this property of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, is one that has lately dropped very much out of view. A busy and constructive age requires rather of the Head of the Administration that he should get things done than that he should get them rightly done; and there are many who feel, if they do not say, that, in a difficult world like ours, his task is likely to be so much the more easily and efficiently performed if he is neither too scrupulous, nor too consistent, nor too gravely disinclined to exchange one coat for another. We are more sensible, they suppose, than our ancestors, who would not suffer the coalition of Fox and North and who buried Peel with the Corn Laws. In an epoch of advanced specialisation, they argue, we must not expect our politicians to be students of ethics, for there are no principles in politics. A statesman like a poet deserves to be permitted his licences, and sometimes very liberal licences too. Progress, they tacitly advise us, is so well assured that we can safely take short cuts and, if need be, crooked paths to reach our goal. The end will vindicate the means.

The hard fact that Bagehot registers, however, remains. Insensibly, and whether we like it or not, Parliament and the Nation, of which Parliament is, or is supposed to be, the mirror, does take its colour from the Prime Minister. Contempt for principle, super-mastery of sharp practice, infidelity towards those with whom one works and to whom one is bound by the subtle ties of private obligation, drain through from the main river of political life into the streams and backwaters of common existence just as certainly as high convictions,

Digitized by Google

just measures, and fine feelings. Evil communications, in fact, in public as well as private affairs, corrupt good manners. And, if nations have souls, and if souls are worth more than bodies, it follows that the supreme concern, if not the supreme interest for the critic of political biography, must be less the lively incidents or the brilliant passages of a career achieved than the broad effect of a statesman's character, method, and habit of mind upon the conscience of his country. No policy, however profitable, no diplomacy, however skilful, no rôle, however dramatic upon the greatest stage the world contains, should entitle a bad man to claim precedence over a good one in his country's annals. This is sound English doctrine. Where Frederick stands in Prussia, where Louis Quatorze and Napoleon stand in France, where Peter stands in Russia, there in England stands Alfred, the only really good man among those whom their subjects have reckoned to be 'great.'

Judged by this standard—and it is one with which he would not himself have quarrelled—the late Lord Salisbury will most probably be placed, as Queen Victoria placed him, high in the ranks of the British Prime Ministers of the 19th century. There were, perhaps, one or two passages in his life that some might have wished otherwise, and which apology explains more really than it excuses; but this is little in the high altitudes of politics with their prodigiously slippery slopes. Few capable judges would now deny that he left his country richer by the example of duty untiringly performed, of integrity unalloyed by personal ambition, and of talent schooled to the noble purposes of the State. The springs of his character, indeed, were never doubtful. Religion had satisfied him earlier than it satisfies many serious people of the justice of its claims; and his daughter has shown a bold but correct instinct in placing some account of his theology at the beginning rather than at the end of the story, to which place theologies are as often relegated by biographers as by men themselves. Thus he brought to his public work a mind trained and tempered by contact with what some have thought to be the queen of the sciences, and with what is, at all events, a fine instrument for refining and detaching the human mind. Himself a diligent student

Digitized by Google

of Newman, he might as a young man, almost as well as Newman, have been the subject of the famous compliment recorded in the Apologia, 'Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus.' Though he gains friends, yet always, as the Life proceeds, we are sensible that his outlook, his attitude, his habit of thought and mode of expression are peculiarly his own, that he is in no degrading sense sufficient unto himself. Here, indeed, lay a source of weakness as well as of strength. As Lady Gwendolen points out with her keen power of diagnosis, he had, so far as we can judge, capacity for remote but not for intimate leadership. In the House of Commons, although occasion offered, he gathered no following, formed no 'cave.' It was from the distant, Olympian heights of the House of Lords, to which the independence and individuality he so much valued were already taking wing, that he governed the country.

Salisbury's religion was forged in the workshops of the Oxford Movement. When he entered the sacred city on the Isis, 'the star of Newman'—to borrow Lord Morley's picturesque, if contentious metaphor—had lately set, and 'the sun of Mill' was swiftly rising. But to him novelty was no temptation. At Oxford and after Oxford he made himself master of the Anglican position and the early Fathers, and enjoyed that kind of double existence which comes of sympathy with latent causes and recalls at an infinite distance the old exultation of the Catacombs. And yet no one who studies carefully Lady Gwendolen's extremely subtle analysis of his religion is likely to feel that his ecclesiasticism was of the Schools. The High Churchmanship which he professed was but the faldstool of his faith, just as the cynicism of which he stood accused was no more than its curtain. At heart he was a mystic, and so fully a mystic as to be largely independent of, though not entirely indifferent to, the rational grounds both of belief and unbelief. His apologetic, if it had been elaborated in a formal thesis, must probably have been injurious to the cause he sought to serve, for Christianity failed of its own force to recommend itself to his intelligence as a system of morals. It seems as if he had missed the correspondence between the Gospel and human needs which strikes

Digitized by Google

and touches many who cannot see their way to follow it further. His individual researches had carried him just so far as they will carry a man intellectually—to the heart, that is, of natural religion, to a belief in God. But supernatural religion, it becomes increasingly obvious, must, if it is to satisfy inquiry, be framed and fortified by philosophy and tradition. And it was just here that his temperament interfered. He distrusted experts in all departments of life; and theologians fell within that category. It followed that he disliked that play of the mind about theology which results in definition and dogma. But Christianity, deprived of these things, loses its intellectual rights and is thrown back for its defence upon beauty or sorrow or sickness—in fact, upon human sentiment and human frailty. He was himself so built that he would, perhaps, have accepted this consequence with ruthless candour. One might suppose him saying that Christianity was safe enough in the hands of women and invalids, for his own confession of belief rested, childlike and untroubled, on some inner mystical allegiance to the person of Christ. Yet, vivid as his faith was, one can with difficulty read Lady Gwendolen's pages without feeling that it went blindfold to its goal.

'Acute sensitiveness to the pain of creation,' she tells us, 'never became deadened; the resolve to face it unsupported by any soothing self-delusions never became weakened. Once, in the course of a discussion upon some such ineffectual attempt at a solution, he broke off suddenly with the exclamation, uttered with almost defiant energy—"God is all-powerful and God is all-loving—and the world is what it is! How are you going to explain *that?*"'

What is this but the old cry of Job, 'Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him,' echoing down the 19th century with a pathos such as is found in that closing passage of Carlyle's life which Froude has left on record? 'I once said to Carlyle,' says his biographer, 'not long before his death, that I could only believe in a God who did something. With a cry of pain which I shall never forget, he said, "He does nothing." For himself, however, his faith stood firm.'

There exists a deeper mysticism than that of Carlyle

Digitized by Google

—a mysticism which has passed behind the intuitions both of natural and revealed religion to the paradoxes of divine grace. God is no longer for the disciples of this school merely a God that hideth Himself, for they have probed the philosophy of sacrifice and appropriated the poetry of pain. Women in recent times have been the greater masters here. In George Eliot's novels,* in Mrs Craven's 'Récit d'une Sœur,' above all, in Mrs Hamilton King's 'Sermon in the Hospital,' there are present thoughts which, if they leave the groaning and travailing of the animal world obscure as before, do sensibly clarify the opaque, mysterious mirror of human suffering. And it was in the human sphere that for Salisbury the riddle of the universe appears to have pressed most hardly, for his address to the British Association on the subject of Evolution showed that the theological argument from design had not in his case been dislodged by any disclosures of science.

Upon such things, however, this is no place to enlarge. It is enough for our present purpose to notice how the mystical element in Salisbury's religion met and blended with and coloured the current of mysticism which is the real metaphysic of Conservatism. Regarding human conditions as unintelligible, he tends to an unusual degree to take the world as he finds it. Change has for him neither essential virtue nor divine promise. Unable to establish any correspondence between our present surroundings and the vision of a Kingdom of God, he fashions no Republics, Utopias, or Cities of the Sun. His actual conception of the State, as it is disclosed in his early writings, is even based upon the analogy of a business-concern where power is distributed in proportion to risk. Since man, he argues, when freed from philosophy and left to his own devices, arranges his affairs in that fashion, it must be assumed that a similar arrangement is best calculated to satisfy his civic interests. Certainly no sentence of his ever encouraged the idle, vapid idealism of which the air is, or has lately been, full. He hoped no more of human

* She would, doubtless, not herself have admitted the implication here given to her work, but her witness to certain things is not the less striking because unconscious.

Digitized by Google

nature than that it might carry on its public affairs decently and in order from one generation to another. His vision was without light or heat; and to a casual observer he might have seemed to be no more than one who, cultivating his garden after the formula of Candide, produced a cynicism of exquisite bouquet from amidst the ruined temples of illusion. And certainly one would turn back in vain to this master of polished sentences and caustic judgments to discover new hopes—blind or better than blind—for human consolation. To dream, to behold distances, to inspire destinies was not his *métier*; and in these points it might be said that he fell behind the greatest of his political contemporaries—behind both Gladstone and Disraeli. But it was not the less true that his mysticism had shown him God, though it had denied him the vision of all things in God. And, in spite of his profound reserve, in spite of his distrust of rational theology, the significance of his faith and of the integrity of his life was not lost upon an age of which it was rather pathetically said that 'it longed to be religious.'

But any discussion of this aspect of Salisbury's character savours of impertinence. Lady Gwendolen alone is really competent to deal with the subject; and, in the case of one whose personality was at once so largely formed and sustained by religious considerations and so little revealed to men in general, it must be reckoned the best of good fortune that the writing of the biography has fallen into a daughter's hands and not into those of any common scribe. Quite apart from the religious element in the question, the book will stand comparison for talent and power with any political biography in the language. The work is as fresh as Mr Churchill's, as thoughtful as Lord Morley's, and almost though not quite as painstaking as Mr Buckle's; the style singularly firm, direct, and natural. Taken in conjunction with the 'Life of Lord Randolph Churchill,' it ought to settle for ever the old controversy about the capacity of a child to write the life of a parent. Of the three supreme relationships that human life has to offer—those of mother and son, husband and wife, father and daughter—Lady Gwendolen has enjoyed the last and least noticed. Religious phraseology, busy with the two former, has left the third very much alone; and it

Digitized by Google

is from purely human devotion that it derives its wonderful lustre. In the case of some women, indeed, whose highest affection has been concentrated upon an older generation, it has too often sunk into a legend, a superstition, an altar of the dead. What is really admirable in Lady Gwendolen's attitude is the perfect combination of love and detachment. She knows that the shadows in a portrait, when wisely treated, need do no violence to the lights, provided these are high and central; and she has appreciated the truth enshrined within the extravagance of the saying 'tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner.' Her work, given the subtlety and originality of the character with which she has had to deal, has been done in the wisest way. Not every biography admits of being made, as Lockhart says he tried to make his 'Life of Scott,' an autobiography. An interpretation is the just treatment of the life of one whose self-revelations were constantly misunderstood; and Lady Gwendolen has given this with a woman's sympathy and a man's critical instinct. The book is a model of biographical tact.

Not, however, that an eager critic would fail to find room for criticism! In mere technique the volumes, so sagacious and mature in substance, betray the fact that the author is no experienced craftsman. The proportions are disputable; the punctuation is unscientific; and an incessant and unwarranted use of the dash disfigures nearly every page. It is irregular, again, to introduce the subject of a new paragraph with no more than a pronoun, even though that subject was possessed of the reader's attention when the preceding paragraph was concluded; while such a word as 'peripatations' (vol. II, p. 198)—presumably for 'perambulations'—would figure more conveniently in the modernist prose of the late Mr Reginald Farrer than among the dignified members of Lady Gwendolen's classical and conservative sentences.

In more important ways than these, the technical apparatus of the book falls at moments below the highest standard. The author's range of reading is comparatively slight for the exacting days we live in; and one misses, though not necessarily with regret, all the by-play of allusion and citation which serve the experienced man of letters much as the asides and gestures of the crowd

Digitized by Google

or the chorus serve the dramatist. The book, in truth, owes its distinction rather to the native skill of a strong, original, and brilliant mind in seizing and interpreting the salient facts of a tract of history which it has really envisaged, after Seeley's formula, as past politics. Nowhere is this more evident than in the analysis of the English political situation in 1866–67; and that analysis may be regarded as in some respects the most striking feature of these volumes. The writer is fully acquainted with English party history in the later part of the 19th century and, unlike those who study politics from long distances, suffers from no temptation to magnify the figures and ameliorate the motives of the principal actors. Elsewhere the occasional lack of, or perhaps an indifference to, exact historical scholarship rather spoils the general impression. No one familiar with the history of Central Europe would have written 'Beüst' or have described Andrássy, to whom Lady Gwendolen denies the accent she unfortunately accords to Renan and Decazes, as 'the Chancellor,' still less as 'the Hungarian Chancellor.' The former of these titles —the latter is fanciful—was accorded to Kaunitz, to Metternich, and to Beust, but did not long survive the prejudicial effect of the *Ausgleich*, which (and here we see the nemesis of inexactitude) Andrássy himself was more instrumental than any one else in getting carried. In the next reprint of a book, which deserves many editions, one may hope to see him correctly described as Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister. And at the same time Lady Gwendolen may, perhaps, think it worth while to rescue one of her ancestors from excessive depreciation. Pepys did not say 'my foolish Lord Salisbury' but 'my simple Lord Salisbury'; and, though poor William, with all his mind intent upon horses and hounds, was certainly unworthy of his father and grandfather, we may charitably hope that he was not quite a goose.* But it is of the third Marquis and not the second Earl that we ought to be speaking.

* Horace Walpole (Nov. 16, 1785) tells Lady Ossory that Sir Robert Walpole was descended through the female line from Burghley. If this is correct, it should modify a little the common opinion, which Lady Gwendolen endorses, that the Cecils showed no sign of ability between the 17th and 19th centuries.

Digitized by Google

The second Robert Cecil was born in 1830, the second son of James second Marquis of Salisbury and of Frances Mary Gascoigne, his first wife—a woman of rare charm and cultivation, who inherited, with the fortune, the blood of City men and passed their business capacity down to her two younger sons. Lady Salisbury, however, died when these boys were still mere children; and their youth and early manhood bore the impress of their loss. Robert especially was too old in mind and too frail in body for his age. His school-days, though his experiences were not at all unique, are a pain even now to read of, so incessant and so undeserved was his misery. He worked, was bullied for his pains, and grew to hate and fear his kind. He had thus obtained, according to the ideas of those days, an admirable introduction to the business of life and the nature of men; and it cannot be denied that his father might plausibly contend that the event proved the point. But to his daughter, and not to his daughter only, it has seemed that the influence which made his great career was that of the wife he married against his father's wishes in 1857. Miss Georgina Alderson brought, like the two Lady Salisburys who preceded her, exceptional talents into the family, but to her husband she lent also the support of strong affection, high courage, and the sympathy of an identical cast of religious faith. There are worse troubles, no doubt, than facing marriage on, as we should say, an invested income of 500*l.* a year with a negligible income-tax; but the amount left room for anxiety, even when augmented by another 200*l.* a year from journalism, and there were recurring moments at which a post in the public service with a salary and no great prospects looked like an agreeable exchange for a place in Parliament, little money and an uncertain future. Robert Cecil, it is curious to reflect, came within an ace of succeeding Charles Greville as one of the two Clerks to the Privy Council. But fate stepped in at the critical moment, abolished a superfluous office, and assured a great career. Meanwhile speeches in the House and articles in the 'Quarterly' and 'Saturday Review,' in days when both things went for a good deal more than they do now, were making his reputation; and it was perhaps the articles, possessing as they did

Digitized by Google

all the charm of detected anonymity, rather than the speeches, that did the most for it.

Destiny, then, shaping his ends, was to make the young man, who in 1852 thought 'all modes of life . . . equally uninviting,' a notable figure in debate by 1863 and a Cabinet Minister by 1866. During the fifteen years (from 1853 to 1868) that he sat in the House of Commons as member for the borough—the rather rotten borough—of Stamford, politicians, so far as the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny allowed them, were busy with the question of the suffrage; and, as on other occasions both before and since when that question has been agitated, they considerably exaggerated the consequences of what was proposed. All the votes in the world cannot turn men into devils, or women into men, nor either into angels, nor England's green and pleasant land into an earthly paradise. Fears in this regard have been mostly liars and hopes little better than dupes. In the 'sixties of the last century, however, any extension of the electorate appeared to be the boldest step imaginable, with indefinite possibilities in it of weal or woe; and both parties manœuvred with equal insincerity to mitigate the change they seemed to urge. Palmerston, on this as on many other occasions, perfectly understood the temper of his countrymen. He made believe to have at heart the reforms that were spoken of, but he did what he wanted, which was nothing at all. Still progress —or what we take for such—could not be cheated indefinitely; and, when he died, the matter had once more to be taken in hand. In 1866 Russell's Ministry, with Gladstone for its spokesman, produced a Reform Bill which, though in reality it went no distance worth speaking of, went further than the Whigs supposed convenient. Educated by the guile of Palmerston and led by the genius of Lowe, they successfully ambushed and assassinated the measure, without, as Lady Gwendolen mercilessly observes, giving 'from first to last . . . a straight vote against it.' Russell with the Liberals went out, and Derby with the Conservatives came in, Cranborne (for to that title by the death of his elder brother he had now succeeded) taking office as Secretary for India.

It was Conservative sincerity that had now to be tested; and it did not stand the test. What Disraeli

Digitized by Google

really thought about the suffrage question no one is in a position confidently to affirm even to this day. Perhaps he did not know or care himself. He had aimed at office; and office he now desired to retain. If the breeze were really blowing strong towards reform, it was good policy to shift his sails to catch it. And so, almost at once, Cranborne became conscious that his leader had begun to tack and trim. The political morals of our own time are easy. We have seen a great party renounce with scarcely a murmur its most cherished article of faith and so render its very name ridiculous; and we have to be careful about throwing stones. But, if we dare not say that Disraeli's opportunism was the most scientific within recent times, we can safely affirm that it was unequalled in its own century. Wellington in 1829 and Peel in 1846 could plead the necessity of passing a necessary measure which others were unequal to carrying. But Disraeli had no such excuse. Only a year before he himself proposed advanced suffrage legislation, he had, as we have seen, defeated Gladstone's more moderate project of reform; and he was quite obviously actuated not by the needs of the country but by a desire to 'dish the Whigs.' There were men in the Cabinet who could not stomach such entire want of principle. Cranborne was one of these.

Lady Gwendolen has been at great pains to make clear the precise complexion of her father's mind at this time. The injury to good faith, to the esteem in which he desired public men should be held, shocked him most; and this is the dominant thought in his famous 'Quarterly Review' article on 'The Conservative Surrender' (Oct. 1867). For the rest, his attitude towards Reform befitted one who was, perhaps more than any man our generation has seen, the express likeness of a Conservative. He took his stand upon a conception of the Constitution the very existence of which is now almost forgotten. Believing in the principle of balance, he was for a participation of every class in the Government, but so as no one class should be in a position to be unfair to any other. But he was too late in the field. Lady Gwendolen is probably right in suggesting that the doctrine of equality had unalterably undermined the doctrine of balance at the time of the first Reform Bill,

Digitized by Google

even though the Act of 1832 was carried by men who distrusted and denounced the equalitarian hypothesis. Ideas often have a strength of their own, and secretly enforce their logic upon men who would repudiate as doctrinaire any plain recognition of their actual cogency. If this was so in 1867, Conservatism, quite apart from the treacherous antics of the Conservative leader, was but a hopeless cause. There was room for a rearguard action and nothing more.

That action Cranborne fought both within and without the Cabinet. Owing to the technicalities of the subject and the conditions of the conflict, his struggle with his colleagues for at the least a 5*l.* rating franchise was less impressive than his subsequent struggle in Parliament to save his party from betraying their principles. A ministerial resignation is very rarely convincing, because the exact point taken seems constantly, in the nature of things, too trivial to justify the big decision it has to sustain. But the country can understand and respect the warrior who defends to the last a doomed and tattered flag. Hopeless as his outlook appeared to himself, after Disraeli had carried the Reform Act of 1867 by dropping every safeguard and subverting every pledge, Cranborne was thenceforward marked out politically as a man of note; and he passed into the House of Lords, on his father's death in the following year, not only with the advantages of a great inherited position and the ownership of a famous political house, in the days when those things were of much account, but also with the reputation of exceptional powers and unblemished character. His succession to the peerage provided, as has been already said, a new and happier setting for his talents. In the Commons his shyness, his aloofness, his intense individualism and stern morality had been prejudicial to leadership. With an occasion of revolt as good as Disraeli's in 1846, it was significant that he had rallied no malcontents. But in the Lords, where individuality is more prized and conscience more secure, his defects became his qualities, distance lending more and more as time went on, a peculiar enchantment to his counsels.

Here Lady Gwendolen appropriately closes the first

Digitized by Google

volume of the biography. The second carries the Life forward over another decade, but is really the story of the two momentous years between 1876 and 1878, in which her father exchanged a local name for what we call a European reputation. The Conservatives returned to power in 1874; and Disraeli, with that absence of animosity which was one of his best characteristics, offered his old opponent a seat in the Cabinet. The offer was very reluctantly accepted. Salisbury hated—it is his own word—and distrusted the Conservative leader, and only the pressure of friends and of public opinion, which fondly supposed that his appointment to the India Office would suppress a famine then raging in Bengal, induced him to violate his resolve to accept nothing from that quarter. But the traces of the old conflict inevitably marred the new association. For him as for Carnarvon, of whom, as being his most intimate political friend, his biographer has taken occasion to draw a singularly charming portrait, the Prime Minister remained suspect; and Disraeli, distrusted by these not unimportant members of his Cabinet, had to pay the price of '67 in '76.

Lady Gwendolen has not said so much as some readers will have expected about Salisbury's Indian administration. We are not told what he thought of the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, though this was a matter which nearly concerned his department and was interesting, besides, as having produced the first symptom of disagreement between the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary. Nor do we hear anything of his attitude towards the Queen's imperial title, though that too lay within his particular province. And not much is said of his differences with Northbrook, the then Indian Viceroy. 'Not remunerative biographically' is a clever but rather unsatisfactory defence for these omissions. They leave a gap the more obvious that the ensuing stretch of foreign policy is almost too amply dealt with. The great importance of Salisbury's tenure of the India Office lay in the fact that it proved his stepping-stone to the Foreign Office. These two departments possess a common orientation in the most literal sense of the word, for to the one as to the other the Near East is a principal source of business and anxiety.

Digitized by Google

And in the late 'seventies of the last century the consequence of this quarter of the globe was by no means diminished by the fact that the Prime Minister was an Oriental. Russia was dreaming her old recurring dream about the city of Constantine; and Beaconsfield, too, was dreaming again the dreams of Tancred. A clash of interests, if not of arms, might have been foretold.

The occasion of conflict came, however, as such occasions are apt to do, unexpectedly and in a region where neither the Russians nor the British were directly concerned. In the summer of 1875 a rising, which soon spread to the adjoining countries, of the inhabitants of Herzegovina against Turkish misgovernment set the chief political physicians of Europe at work prescribing for the sick man at Constantinople. They met in consultation at the sick-bed itself in the close of the following year; and it was at that Constantinople Conference (1876) that Salisbury may be said to have received his diplomatic baptism. On his way to the place of assembly he visited the leading diplomatists of the day or the hour—Decazes in Paris, Bismarck in Berlin, Andrássy in Vienna—and, arrived at his destination, he saw a good deal, and, as some people thought, a little too much, of Ignatieff, the emissary of Alexander. Russian diplomacy was still delightfully primitive. To improve to his country's advantage a frontier already agreed upon, Ignatieff surreptitiously shifted the pins on the map, observing blandly, when Salisbury later on drew attention to the change, 'Monsieur le Marquis est si fin—on ne peut rien lui cacher.' But Turkish diplomacy was more subtle; and the delegates presently returned without having accomplished anything of value.

It has been generally supposed that Salisbury was, at least in the 'seventies, one of the European bulwarks of the Turkish Empire; and when, late in life, he said, in words which struck the public imagination, that England had backed the wrong horse in the Near East, he still seemed to defend the course taken by Beaconsfield as a tradition of the elders that could not easily have been relinquished. We learn now, however, from Lady Gwendolen's book that he advocated a partition of

Digitized by Google

Turkey in 1877, just as, if Eckhardstein is to be believed,* he suggested it again in 1895. Clarendon had been the earliest to see that Stratford Canning's policy of backing the Porte was unsound, and that the Pasha of Egypt and not the Sultan of Turkey was the proper object of British regard. What is interesting is that Salisbury, who, together with Castlereagh, Canning and Clarendon, will probably rank first among the English Foreign Secretaries of his century, saw it also but was equally impotent to break the bonds of tradition. His memorandum of 1877, advising the partition of Turkey by agreement with Russia, was rejected by the majority of his colleagues and condemned as immoral by the delicate conscience of his chief. It was then and only then that, believing, as Lady Gwendolen tells us he did, that 'in foreign affairs the choice of a policy is as a rule of less importance than the methods by which it is pursued' and 'that the balance of advantage as between alternative policies is often slender even in estimate,' he began to seek a solution on the lines afterwards embodied in the Treaty of Berlin. That in so doing he made a concession to the melancholy doctrine that practical politics are always a second-best is incontestable. But then he had nothing of the romantic about him; he would never have sacrificed his usefulness to the compulsion of a mere idea; he lived and moved and worked within the obvious limits of the actual and the attainable.

A study of his conduct during the critical years of the Anglo-Russian imbroglio shows, indeed, a steadiness and sobriety of temperament which probably surprised those who had seen in him no more than 'a master of flouts and gibes.' In the perilous hours of 1877, when the Russians were driving the Turks before them, when the Queen was pressing war upon the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister was pressing the preliminaries of war upon his colleagues, while Derby balanced and delayed, his own judgment took a measured course. He was not afraid to incur the reproach of pacificism or to associate himself in the main with Derby in the earlier phase of the struggle in the Cabinet. But, as he would

* Sir Valentine Chirol, however ('Times,' Sept. 11 and 13, 1920), rejects the story.

Digitized by Google

not countenance war except in the last resort, so neither would he indefinitely tolerate weakness. He knew that diplomacy was a real force in international affairs; and he saw that the Foreign Secretary was not making much use of it. As the year drew to a close, with the Turkish armies defeated and the Porte compelled to sue for peace, the diplomatic opportunity increased. Not unwilling to support the Turks with one hand, provided they were ready—as was at length the case—to accept correction from the other, he became more urgent for action, even at the price of a naval demonstration and of what a naval demonstration might bring in its wake. At the Christmas of 1877 we find him occupying a central position between the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, his support solicited by both, his decision likely to be decisive. A little later he parted company with Derby, whose habit of mind had never been congenial to his own, and with Carnarvon, with whom his political and personal relations had been, conversely, deep-seated and delightful.

The rupture followed upon a Cabinet decision to send the fleet up to Constantinople and move a vote of credit for warlike preparations. The Prime Minister had anticipated Derby's resignation and had made ready for it by obtaining the Queen's consent to the appointment of Salisbury. But, before the readjustment of office took effect, the news came that the Turks had accepted the Russian terms. Derby was too influential a man to be lost without necessity. The orders to the fleet were countermanded; and he was invited to return, which he reluctantly did. Salisbury, though he said the appropriate, civil things, judged—at least in the retrospect—the recall of the Foreign Secretary to have been a grave error, productive of the succeeding Russian advance and the consequent complications. However that may be, the pilot who had anchored in the storm was once more at the helm. There ensued a constitutional development without precedent. Beaconsfield, Cairns, and Salisbury formed themselves into an inner cabinet or committee for the direction of foreign affairs, or rather for the coercion of Derby. It was a desperate measure, corresponding to Salisbury's belief that he and his colleagues were in a fair way to be 'handed down in history as the

Digitized by Google

Government which through sheer incompetence plunged Europe into the greatest war of the century.'

The special point at issue between England and Russia in these last months of Derby's administration of foreign affairs was whether, the principle of a European Congress being now accepted by the Greater Powers, that Congress should have the power to deal with all matters arising out of the Russo-Turkish Treaty just concluded at San Stefano, or only with those, as Russia insisted, 'of European interest,' whatever that convenient limitation might imply. It was at this critical juncture that the Cabinet resolved to prove their determination to win their point by calling up the reserves and bringing Indian troops to Malta, the latter measure being one over which, as Indian Secretary, Salisbury would exercise special control. What was to follow and how the troops were to be employed when they got to Malta, was, according to Lady Gwendolen's account, discussed but not decided; and Derby's subsequent public allegation that the Cabinet had resolved, besides, to take Cyprus or some other place in Syria ought therefore in her view to be regarded as at least deserving to be called an overstatement of fact, if not comparable, as Salisbury in a long-remembered gibe suggested, to the disclosures of Titus Oates. She may be right. There was then no official record of Cabinet decisions; and no one can absolutely gainsay her. But her conclusion would be more convincing if she did not ignore Mr Buckle's very careful review of the evidence in Derby's favour—evidence which rests not alone on Derby's private and contemporaneous memorandum and conversation with Lord Sanderson, but upon Beaconsfield's letters to the Queen of March 26 and 27. 'Lord Beaconsfield,' the Prime Minister tells his Sovereign, 'has carried all his measures'; and those measures included the sending out by the Indian Government of a considerable force and the occupation of 'two important posts in the Levant, which will command the Persian Gulf and all the country round Bagdad.'

Salisbury had the temperament that Derby lacked. In a few days after he took over the Foreign Office he had transformed the European stage by a diplomatic

Digitized by Google

despatch. The famous Circular addressed to the European Governments, which bears his name was, in spite of Dilke's confident attribution of it to Cairns, his own work. He wrote it with closed doors in a single night; and it was accepted by the Cabinet the next morning with the omission only of a superfluous pronoun. Though it was generally regarded as his finest diplomatic achievement, it was not a success, as his biographer tells us, that he rated highly himself, for 'his own conception of a perfect diplomacy was always of one whose victories come without observation.' The leading points in the Circular were two: the sanctity of treaties in general and of the Treaty of Paris in particular, unless or until revised or set aside by the contracting parties; and, secondly, the need for a revision of the Treaty of San Stefano not merely in certain specified parts but as a whole, because it was in the drift of the whole and not in the provisions of the parts that its importance really lay. There was nothing here very different from, or very much in advance of, the position already taken up by Great Britain. It was the clarity of expression and the strength of purpose shown in the Circular that electrified the atmosphere. Europe had been waiting for a lead, and the lead had at last been given.

Good-fortune helped a diplomacy that helped itself. The illness of Gortchakoff, the Russian Chancellor, strengthened the hands of Schouvaloff, the Russian Ambassador, and enabled him to get his way, which was the way of compromise. Roughly speaking, Great Britain consented to let Russia keep her gains in Asia on condition that she moderated her demands in Europe. The project of a 'big' Bulgaria in particular was to be abandoned. With this much agreed by a secret convention between the leading controversialists, a European Congress might reasonably expect to assemble in good hope of success. Inconveniently enough, however, at least from the English point of view, a version of the Convention was sold by Charles Marvin, a copying clerk in the Foreign Office, whom Salisbury supposed to have been primed by Schouvaloff, to the 'Globe' newspaper. It was not a perfectly correct version; and Salisbury, when, after its publication, a question was asked in the House of Lords, characterised it as 'wholly unauthentic

Digitized by Google

and not deserving the confidence of your Lordships' house.' He said too much. It was in fact unauthentic only in one vital point. But Lady Gwendolen falls back upon the argument that secrets are sacred, and that honour is a higher obligation than candour. That is perhaps a good defence against a busybody, but the ethical difficulty here is more subtle. Parliament, in a country constituted like our own, has a right to call for information; and, if a Minister is to be allowed to decide for himself whether his reply should be accurate or misleading, one of the most essential checks upon the Executive disappears and, what is as bad or worse, the word of public men ceases to carry weight.

To some eyes the British negotiations preliminary to the Treaty of Berlin seemed to raise another case of conscience. While Salisbury was arranging the secret convention with Russia, he was also negotiating a private pact with Turkey, under which the Turks surrendered Cyprus in return for a British guarantee of their Asiatic possessions. If they supposed, however, that those possessions included the captured cities of Kars and Batum, they were mistaken, for these were being to all intents and purposes simultaneously signed away by the British Government to Russia. But perhaps they did not suppose it, since no one has been in the habit of returning to Turkey what has been once wrenched away from her. The Cyprus Convention, anyhow, safeguarded the Asiatic half of British interests. And, though there is a passage in 'Tancred' which enables Beaconsfield's admirers to attribute the credit of that acquisition to his early imagination, the project for practical purposes took shape in Salisbury's mind after some talk with an intelligent British Intelligence Officer during his visit to Constantinople in 1876. It was at that time that he had made himself, to borrow his Chief's own words, 'a consummate master' of all the details of Near Eastern affairs.

The outlines of a settlement, then, were arranged before the Congress began, but it remained to secure a great spectacular triumph for the Prime Minister. This was achieved by a dexterous and fortunate combination of Machiavellian glances, dramatic postures, fine phrases and sensational tales. An epigram appraising

Digitized by Google

the respective values of Beaconsfield and Salisbury was put into the mouth of Bismarck and repeated by one journalist after another until it became a household word. Salisbury, the German Chancellor is supposed to have said, was but a lath painted to look like iron, while the 'old Jew' meant business. Critical history has, however, for some while rejected the amusing fable; and Eckhardstein in his lately published memoirs professes to have traced its origin to an observation of Bismarck's to Andrássy to the effect that Salisbury had undoubtedly great qualities as a statesman but that 'the old Jew beat him by several lengths.' In this form the story sounds probable enough. For the Germans measure statesmanship by Judaic rather than Christian standards.

Doubtless the old Jew *meant* business, but we have henceforward to accustom ourselves to the knowledge of the fact that Salisbury *did* it. The picture of the *rusé* old diplomat, which Mr Buckle's Life seemed to confirm, fades away into romantic legend. 'What with deafness, ignorance of French, and Bismarck's extraordinary mode of speech'—here is the damning sentence in Salisbury's contemporary correspondence with his wife—'Beaconsfield has the dimmest idea of what is going on, understands everything crossways, and imagines a perpetual conspiracy.' The date of this observation is not unimportant. It was June 23. Two evenings before, according to Beaconsfield's contemporaneous letter to the Queen, he had sacrificed his shattered constitution in Bismarck's smoking-room in order to convince the German Chancellor that, if Turkey were not allowed to garrison the passes of the Balkans, Great Britain would break up the Congress. And on the morning of June 21, according to his private secretary's oft-told tale, he had given instructions for the ordering of a special train which might signify to the watchful eyes around him the full strength of his determination not to give way. Mr Buckle bids us treat these incidents gravely, and treats them so himself, even to the point of making them the climax of his chapter and the crux of the great diplomatic game that was played at the Congress. Yet we ought, perhaps, to have remembered that in Beaconsfield we had a romanticist and in Corry a *raconteur*.

Digitized by Google

Salisbury, it is to be inferred, knew nothing of these fine, sensational goings-on, or else he would presumably have retailed them to his wife. Bismarck to all appearance knew nothing of them either, for he makes no mention of them in his 'Reminiscences,' and apparently did not confide them to Busch. Moüy too, we may guess from his silence, had caught no wind of them. And Hanotaux, who had the conspicuous advantage of seeing the unpublished memoirs of Schouvaloff and Carathéodory, records them not. But what seems most decisive of all is the fact, as Lady Gwendolen points out in a modest footnote, that the Russian Emperor must have made up his mind to surrender and actually despatched his consent some hours before Beaconsfield and Corry planned and executed their theatricals. Bismarck's afternoon call and evening dinner made of course capital staging for the play; and the German Chancellor no doubt maintained his rôle of honest broker. But the really critical business, it seems pretty clear, was as good as settled before the British Prime Minister and his secretary had even dramatised their novel.

The Congress ended in time to allow Bismarck to take his accustomed waters at Kissingen, and in a manner that enabled Beaconsfield to wreathe himself with laurels and phrases, with stars and garters. Salisbury, on whom the blue ribbon was also conferred at his colleague's insistence rather than at his own desire, characteristically disliked and distrusted all this tinsel brilliance. It was not in keeping, as it seemed to him, with the sober England that he knew; and he felt convinced that the party managers would presently find this out at the polls. Not the least ironical feature of the 1880 election, indeed, was the fact that the Foreign Secretary, whose particular department was most in the public mind, half sympathised with the feelings of his critics. 'Within the limits of their knowledge, the electors had judged as he was conscious that he himself would have judged under similar restrictions. They disliked sensationalism in policy, and so did he.'

There for the present the biography closes. Lady Gwendolen shuts the book quietly, not pausing to depict, even though perhaps she witnessed it, the last episode in Beaconsfield's curious relations with her father—the

Digitized by Google

old statesman receiving at Hatfield, in the house of one who had been his bitterest political foe and had grown through the strange chances and changes of public life to be his firmest political friend, the news of those successive defeats at the polls which at his age could mean nothing less than the end of his official career. He has been the foil of her first two volumes; and she will miss his figure sadly when she comes to write her next, for he retains his infinite variety in spite of the making of many books. Meanwhile every student of politics and history will wish her God-speed upon the long road she has yet to travel. Her labour has fallen in a fortunate and important time. Parties are once more in the making; and a subject like hers, treated as it is in essay form and enriched by lucid and facile expression, can hardly leave opinion wholly unaffected. Conservative though he was as well by conviction as inheritance, it is a moot point to what party Salisbury would have attached himself in a world changed, like our own, out of all recognition. When those who have the best claim to represent him wander restlessly on the confines of their former camp, we may well ask whether he would have thought the tradition of sound government, stable policy, and individual freedom better honoured by the dubious offspring of the great party he once led, with its new element of wizardry and its complement of master-pressmen, than among its comparatively old-fashioned opponents. And, whatever answer is returned, we may at least feel confident that, as the biography advances, the contrast between his method of doing things and that of many leading politicians in office to-day, between the tone he adopted to teach his countrymen to think politically and that at present in vogue, will force itself, especially if we should happen to be of Bagehot's way of thinking, more and more insistently upon the mind.

Digitized by Google

Art. 10.—JAMES BRYCE.

1. *The Holy Roman Empire.* 1866. Revised ed., with new preface, 1904.
2. *Transcaucasia and Ararat.* 1877.
3. *The American Commonwealth.* 1888. 3 vols. Revised and enlarged ed., 1910, 2 vols.
4. *Studies in History and Jurisprudence.* 2 vols. Clarendon Press, 1901.
5. *Studies in Contemporary Biography.* 2 vols. 1903.
6. *Impressions of South Africa.* 1897. 3rd ed., 1899.
7. *South America.* 1912.
8. *University and Historical Addresses delivered during a Residence in the United States as Ambassador of Great Britain.* 1913.
9. *Essays and Addresses in War Time.* 1918.
10. *World History* (Annual Raleigh Lecture, British Academy). Milford, 1919.

(All published by Messrs Macmillan, unless otherwise stated.)

And other works.

To depart this mortal life full of years and honours, without pain or lingering; to leave to the world a record of strenuous labour accomplished with unbroken success; to fellow-citizens and the world of letters a memorable example, and in the hearts of many friends a more intimate remembrance—this is a reward that even among the best of us is the lot of but few, and, when it befalls, is matter rather for praise and thanksgiving than for sorrow. Thus it was with James Bryce; and we may well say of him as it was said of that noble Roman Metellus Macedonicus: 'Surely here is no death but an auspicious quitting of life' (Vell., 'Paterc.,' I, 11).

It is the present writer's privilege to look back to a friendship of half a century, beginning at a time when Bryce had not yet made his definite choice between a legal and a political career. At that time it would have been a speculative if not an extravagant forecast to guess that he would become Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, a Cabinet Minister, Ambassador to the United States, President of the Alpine Club, and President of the British Academy, and fill all those positions with

Digitized by Google

distinction. It would be tedious to go through the tale of other honours recorded in the current books of reference. Enough to mention that Bryce was also a member of the Order of Merit, as well as one of the few Englishmen who have received the Prussian Ordre pour le Mérite. Not less tedious would it be to attempt any categorical account of his various activities. The most that can be done in a short compass is to seek out, among the evidences they have left us, those features of character and intellect which give the note of unity to their variety.

If Bryce can be said to have had a predominant motive in life, it was enlightened curiosity, the kind which is desultory but comprehensive, never drops what it has once grasped, and of set purpose will not pursue special branches of knowledge to the point where specialism excludes a wide and equably balanced outlook. After leaving the practice of the law he never ceased to be a sound lawyer; and his work as jurist, politician, and publicist was informed throughout by the historical knowledge and judgment acquired in his earliest studies. As a historian, again, he started with an excellent foundation of classical scholarship, manifest throughout his writings in frequent apposite quotations from Homer and Virgil, of whose quality Mr Frederic Harrison, himself no mean scholar, has opportunely reminded us. Add to this that his general knowledge included competence, amounting in one or two cases to mastery, in the principal European tongues. In one word, Bryce's equipment was that of an accomplished humanist; and as a great humanist he will stand out among his generation in the eyes of posterity.

It is therefore easy to understand why Bryce, like several other scholars who have embarked on a parliamentary career, had neither the determined political ambition nor exactly the kind of ability that leads to commanding positions. Wide knowledge, tolerant sympathy with mankind, and a strong and constant desire to be just to opponents as well as allies, are not the outfit of a thoroughgoing partisan; they do not beget that confident assurance which makes a man an eager and impressive advocate of his own opinions. Bryce was himself convinced that party government is

Digitized by Google

necessary in our constitution; his loyalty as colleague and follower was unbroken (which indeed is a part of political justice); but he could never put political expediency above all. Thus in active politics 'he attained not to the first three'; the way he chose as suited to his peculiar genius was more excellent. No typical party politician could have been such a publicist or such an ambassador as Bryce became.

The main lines of Bryce's work were marked from the first by his earliest considerable publication, the expanded prize essay which became his classical study of the Holy Roman Empire. Different circumstances might conceivably have led him in some other direction. One point of his temperament, however, was native, persistent, and irrepressible. He made himself an historian and a jurist; he was born a traveller and explorer, a man determined to view the world for himself and make report, to the utmost of his power, of things he had seen with his own eyes and places he had trodden with his own feet. His active habit of body remained with him to the last; it was want of leisure and not any failure of aptitude that put an end to his mountaineering; and in his old age he could set a pace to many younger pedestrians which they found it hard to keep up with. It is said that in his excursions among the hills of New Hampshire, where he spent one or two of his summer vacations as ambassador, he went near to reducing a British consular officer to complete exhaustion.

He would have ascended Ararat, or done something like it, whether he had written 'The Holy Roman Empire' or not. It was the art of an accomplished scholar that enabled him to look down from that legendary summit not merely on a prospect of wild mountains but on the historic pageant of Roman dominion in Asia; the climb itself came, one may say, by nature, and a very good climb it was. Although the ascent was not new, the earlier ones had not formed any mountaineering tradition or habit; on the contrary, Bryce found an unshaken belief that the resting-place of the Ark was inviolable, and apparently left it unshaken still.* Thus the expedition had for practical purposes

* 'Transcaucasia and Ararat,' c. 7 *ad fin.* When the archimandrite of Etchmiadzin was informed, in Bryce's presence, of the ascent, 'The

Digitized by Google

the charms and the troubles of novelty. When the problems of approach and transport were solved and the final ascent began, Bryce was the only member of the party, so-called guides included, who was in condition to persevere to the end; and it was more than an ordinary test of mountaineering competence to accomplish this day's work alone, with the view of the route mostly obscured by cloud.

Twenty-five years later Bryce was President of the Alpine Club; and if any one seeks further witness of the esteem in which his fellows in that craft held him, it stands in British Columbia, where a peak of no extraordinary height but quite respectable difficulty* was named after him by Mr Norman Collie, himself President a score of years later. There have been mountain-climbers by necessity, who traversed perilous heights because there was no other way to their journey's end. Bryce was none of these. He uttered the feeling of a true mountaineer in his farewell Presidential address to the Club, from which I quote a few sentences: they will serve better as an example of his usual style than anything that could be torn (almost unavoidably to the detriment of the sense) from a more learned context.

'The pleasure of mountaineering is compounded of many elements. There is the strenuous putting forth of one's physical powers, with the consciousness of vital energy which the exertion of those powers evokes. There is also the exertion of skill; and how much skill does not the climber need who has to judge of the condition of the snow, of the character and structure of the rocks, of the prospects of the weather, of the capacities of each member of the party, of the comparative merits of various possible routes? There is the sense of danger, which, although a sensible man will not allow it to become unduly prominent, does seem to thrill the nerves and to stimulate all one's forces to their highest point of efficiency. There is the sense of companionship, and the sympathy which arises from and strengthens the feeling of reciprocal reliance—a feeling unlike that rivalry which is the note of most of our games, and one which touches deeper springs of emotion. And, finally, there is the delight of

---

venerable man smiled sweetly. "No," he replied, "that cannot be. No one has ever been there. It is impossible."'

* 'Alpine Journal,' XXI, 464, first ascent by the Rev. James Outram.

Digitized by Google

getting close to Nature, to Nature in those of her aspects which have been and can be least spoiled by the intrusive hand of man. To many of us this circumambient wildness and solitude, this sense of coming back to the primal simplicity of the earth, before man had spread himself out over it and had begun to efface its original character, is one of the keenest joys and most entrancing charms of the high mountains. . . . No future generation will find any pleasure more pure or more intense than that which we, in this our short and fleeting span of life, have drawn from the days and nights we have spent among the mountains, with the silence of the snowfields around us and the waterfalls faintly calling from the valleys beneath, in the solemn presence of Nature.'*

When Bryce made his journey through Russia to Armenia, and embodied in his account whole chapters which proved him an accomplished traveller and topographer as well as a ripe historical scholar, 'The Holy Roman Empire' was already in a fourth edition. It is well to remember to what an insular world of letters that book was addressed more than half a century ago. Mediæval studies in England were still an obscure speciality. Historians ignored law, while lawyers were content to take their history at second-hand from superficial compilations. Even among the more scholarly sort, Blackstone and Hallam were accepted as ultimate authorities; and apocryphal legends with no better voucher than Coke passed as good evidence for anything earlier than the 14th century. Work full of gross blunders and fictions, which has not yet wholly ceased to mislead uncritical readers, was produced almost without protest by writers at the head of the legal profession; and lawyers who had mastered the elements of Roman law and knew how to cite its authorities were hard to find outside Doctors' Commons.

Bryce never applied himself directly to the history of English law, but indirectly he did much to dispel the darkness by restoring contact between English and Continental learning. English, I say purposely; the Scottish universities maintained their own tradition, fostered by long alliance of Scottish with French culture, and it was sound as far as it went. At a later stage, in

* 'Alpine Journal,' XXI, 8–11.

Digitized by Google

his 'Studies in History and Jurisprudence,' Bryce laid some shrewd blows on the dry and narrow dogmas of the so-called analytical school in which our law-students were trained until the other day, so far as they were trained at all. His treatment of the Hobbist doctrine of indivisible sovereignty is to my mind a full and final refutation.

It is not possible here to account, even in the most summary manner, for the contents of 'The Holy Roman Empire'; it would be superfluous in any case to deal thus with a book which has long been in the hands of all historical students, which invites them to further exploration, and to which they return to appreciate more fully the finer points of scholarship and apt illustration that escape the novice. A man is equipped for such appreciation only when he knows his Dante (including the *De Monarchia*) at first hand, has tasted the Schoolmen, can use Du Cange, is no stranger to Italian cities, and has learnt something of mediæval architecture and art; and, if he has made such progress in *res diplomatica* that he can read a mediæval charter with understanding, so much the better. The days are past, I suppose—thanks largely to Bryce—when a college archivist, presumably competent in purely English matters, reading 'nos Ricardus Dei gratia' at the head of a grant, could promptly docket it as of Richard I. In fact the next significant words were 'rex Romanorum' and the grantor was Richard of Cornwall.

A specially pleasing chapter of 'The Holy Roman Empire' is entitled 'Imperial Titles and Pretensions.' Here one may learn why Hungary was still outside the Empire when the Archdukes of Austria were apostolic Kings of Hungary as well as Emperors; why it was strictly proper for the Emperor to be crowned four times over in four several cities; and how Frederick Barbarossa drove his Eastern rival Isaac Angelus of Constantinople, who had begun with calling him chief prince of Alemannia, to address him in due form as the most noble Emperor of ancient Rome. Even Bryce's insight could not enable him to prophesy, when he last revised his book, that the name of empire would disappear from Europe in his lifetime.

On his *opus magnum*, 'The American Commonwealth,' I shall not venture to pass any judgment of my own.

Digitized by Google

If there is any European qualified by similar experience to discuss that book on terms of equality, it is M. Jusserand, who moreover was intimately acquainted with Bryce's work as a colleague; and he is not free. Rather I will cite a thoroughly competent American witness whose testimony I had the pleasure of hearing at the time. In 1907, when Bryce had lately taken up his post as our ambassador, he was invited to give the annual address to the meeting of the American Bar Association at Portland, Maine. Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, the President of the Association for the year, introduced him in these words:

'I will not say that in all England there cannot be found a man who has mastered our dual system of government so completely as has the distinguished author of "The American Commonwealth," but I will say that neither in England nor in any other country has any man produced such conclusive evidence of mastery as he. His broad comprehension of our ideals, coupled with his careful and considerate treatment of our failures sometimes to meet those ideals, has aroused in us an interest and stimulated for him a friendship which has grown until it is national in its scope. So, when he came to us as the representative of that great Government to which the ancestors of a majority of the people present this morning at some time owed allegiance, we received him with a warm feeling, with a great welcome, because he had a warm place in our hearts.' *

The title of the address was 'The influence of national character and historical environment in the development of the Common Law'; but the matter was so handled as to bring out, as was fitting for a good lawyer speaking among lawyers, the importance of the legal element in the common stock of British and American political tradition. Bryce rightly pointed out that even the archaic technicality of our law had its virtues at the time when rules had to be technical if judgments were not to be arbitrary and arguments confused. (There comes a point, no doubt, where excess of technicality has bred subtle evasions, and the rules and exceptions between them get into a hopeless tangle; nevertheless there are

* 'Report of the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association, Baltimore, 1907,' p. 79.

Digitized by Google

a few American States in whose courts procedure is much what it was in England two centuries ago.) If Bryce's distinctly legal papers could be isolated, the exactness as well as the range of his professional knowledge would, I think, surprise many lawyers.

Not that 'The American Commonwealth' (to return from a slight digression) is at all like a law-book, or is even a wholly political book. It is, of course, a treatise on American constitutional Government, Federal and State, but it is much more. The last two hundred and fifty pages or so deal freely with American life in its professional, academic, commercial, and other social aspects; and whoever will read those chapters may see that Bryce did not win his reputation among Americans by flattery but by combining human sympathy with frankness. As he has himself said, it is a great mistake to suppose (whatever may have been the case when Tocqueville wrote) that Americans resent criticism. What they will not endure, nor yet our fellow-citizens of the Dominion, for that matter, is being patronised. Now Bryce could not have assumed an air of patronage if he had tried; and that was part of his secret. There is only one topic on which I have looked for discussion in 'The American Commonwealth' without finding satisfaction; it is the general respect for learning in the United States, quite contrary to vulgar notions of democratic temper. This is barely touched upon in the admirable chapters on American universities. But perhaps the answer is that we should consider not why learning is so much respected in America but rather why it is so little respected in England as compared not only with America but with other lettered European countries including Scotland; and maybe Bryce, as a Scotsman, did not feel troubled by that puzzle.

The quite recent book on 'Modern Democracies' is a sequel to 'The American Commonwealth,' covering new ground on similar lines as well as supplementing the former judgments of American affairs with the aid of later experience. Less than a year ago Sir Charles Oman gave an account of it in this Review; and there is nothing for me to say now but to repeat with full agreement his remark that it is a marvellous book to have been written by a man of eighty-three.

Digitized by Google

Apart from Bryce's great monographs, the best proof of his eminence as a publicist may be found in the two volumes of 'Studies in History and Jurisprudence' published in 1901, about midway in time between 'The American Commonwealth' and 'Modern Democracies.' They cover a wide field, but there is a common motive to be found in most of them, as the preface points out—'that of a comparison between the history and law of Rome and the history and law of England.' Having myself at sundry times gone over much of the same ground from a slightly different point of view, for legal rather than historical purposes, I can bear witness with some confidence to the soundness and accuracy of Bryce's workmanship. The writer's mastery of style and his admirably ordered exposition may be said to speak for themselves; and yet not wholly so, for only a reader who has made his own laborious acquaintance with the matter of these essays in the rough can appreciate the skill and felicity that reduced it to literary form.

Save for a few discussions of which the subject-matter has in one way or another now lost its importance, almost every section of the book may be recommended at this day as a lucid and impartial survey of its topic, neither superficial nor over-technical, omitting nothing material to be known by an inquirer, and neither concealing nor exaggerating the difficulties. Many of the lessons thus conveyed are as much needed at this day as ever they were. There might have been fewer disillusions in Europe, and perhaps less trouble in some other parts of the world, if Bryce's essay on 'Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces' had been familiar to the politicians who were talking of 'self-determination' a few years ago as if it were a universal solvent of boundary problems. There they might have read a wise man's estimate of the disruptive forces engendered in a mixed population, even under tolerably good material conditions, in the chronic conflict of language, tradition, and religion; they might have learnt that tribal and national passions are exceedingly complex products of human nature not to be controlled by diplomatic or legal formulas.

This essay, however, is of less general importance than that which precedes it, entitled 'Flexible and Rigid Constitutions,' which is a classical monograph in

Digitized by Google

miniature. Bryce was the first author who clearly distinguished those political constitutions which can be changed by the ordinary forms of legislation from those which can be amended only by a special process, and fixed on that distinction the apt terms 'flexible' and 'rigid.' He was well aware that the distinction need not always represent a substantial difference, as President Lowell has more fully explained. Not all rigid constitutions are equally rigid; the prescribed mode of amendment may be more or less dilatory, more or less elaborate. In some cases it may add only a little solemnity and delay to the procedure of current legislation. We have seen, on the other hand, that even the cautious provisions devised by the founders of the United States leave it possible for organised agitation to carry through drastic innovations on a wave of real or apparent popular sentiment without effective opposition. As to our own affairs, it is plain that Bryce did not believe the problem of organising the British Empire to be soluble by any form of rigid constitution; and later events have amply justified his doubt. It is hardly needful to add that the importance of the whole subject is increased by the recent birth of so many new sovereign States in Europe, whose constitutions, it may be presumed, will belong to the rigid type. This again is foreseen in a general way in the closing paragraphs.

Bryce is at his very best in the chapter on 'Primitive Iceland,' where the imagination of the historical scholar is reinforced by the keen eye of the traveller who has himself been over the ground and qualified himself to appreciate the topographical reasons for fixing the meeting-place of the Althing at one spot rather than another.

> 'There was plenty of water and pasture (he says), and the lake which washed the plain of meeting abounded (as it does to this day) with trout and wild fowl. (It abounds also with most pernicious small black flies, whereon the trout grow fat, but which make fishing not always a pleasure.)'

It is rather amusing to remember the days when journalists who did not agree with Bryce's political opinions treated him as belonging to the genus of merely book-learned doctrinaire professors. Those university

Digitized by Google

professors, not many, who really answer such a description are not often to be met with in public affairs; but this by the way. Being a very human traveller and fisherman, Bryce could fully understand the one thing doctrinaires never can—that men can live and even thrive without formulas; and thus the mediæval Iceland, where there were law-courts and a great deal of law but no executive officers and no permanent governing body, presented to him not an awkward anomaly but an excellent witness to the normal development of custom, in this case all the more normal because it took place within the bounds of an island secure against external interference.

The facts show us in Iceland, almost as if they had been arranged for the purpose, how usage grows into custom, custom into authoritative rules, and those rules into a formal system of law; how law becomes entangled in formalism, and its reduction to simplicity 'is the latest legal achievement of a civilised age.' Bryce evidently enjoyed his text, and also the opportunity of bringing in one or two good stories of the heroic age which he had read in their original Icelandic. One passing remark is, I think, dictated by excessive charity. 'Substantial justice is all the layman cares for.' Yes, on the assumption (which he is pretty sure to make) that justice is wholly on his own side and will be satisfied by nothing short of his full claim and costs. And Baron Parke, who is compared with the eleventh-century pleaders of Iceland as a typical formalist, had plenty of common sense and regard for substantial justice when a point of pleading did not bar the way. That he was technical, however, cannot be denied; and Bryce's estimates of other English judges' merits, to be found mainly in the volume of biographies, are acute and judicious.

This last-mentioned book—'Studies in Contemporary Biography'—is perhaps the best witness to Bryce's fair-mindedness and the width of his human interests. Much has been well said of Disraeli, much of Gladstone; Bryce achieved the feat of celebrating Mr Gladstone, his own parliamentary chief, without adulation, and appreciating Lord Beaconsfield, with whom he had very few opinions or tastes in common, without malice or injustice. His records of Oxford friends and companions,

Digitized by Google

by no means confined to his own Faculty, and including men of such different capacities as T. H. Green the philosopher and J. R. Green the historian, are of permanent value for the history of university life in the 19th century. With this mere indication I pass on to the latest stage of his activity.

In the spring of 1913 the Congress of Historical Studies met in London; it had last met at Berlin in 1908, and was to have met again at Petrograd in 1918. Bryce should have presided at the London meeting on his return from Washington, but it was found necessary to prolong his stay there some months, and his address was read for him by the Master of Peterhouse, whom he was shortly to succeed as President of the British Academy. The fear of war was not yet in the air, and the address contemplated a peaceful time of exploration in the fields of archæology and ethnology; it disclosed a wider interest in those studies than had yet appeared in Bryce's published work, and pointed to the closer union of the civilised world through more frequent contact and improved communications, a theme which was resumed after the war in his Raleigh lecture; and in conclusion historians were exhorted to practise and promote impartiality. That lesson is now more needed than ever. On historical method in general Bryce had spoken two years earlier in America*; while he justly treated as extinct the assumption that whoever can write at all can write history, he put in a caution against the so-called scientific historian who thinks of nothing but hunting for new facts and documents, important or unimportant, and leaves them just as dry and lifeless as he found them. 'Aridity raises no presumption of accuracy.' Yet there still lurks in our seats of learning a disposition to believe that a clumsy or crabbed writer is more likely to deserve serious attention than a readable one. Bryce himself, I rather think, has suffered from this absurd superstition.

It was less than a month before the war when Bryce gave his first address to the British Academy as its President, looking forward to a peaceful celebration of Shakespeare's tercentenary. For the rest of his term

* 'University and Historical Addresses,' p. 341.

Digitized by Google

he had to steer a wary course, and did so with unfailing tact; he had a free hand only in his short but very felicitous notices of deceased members. When he delivered his last official discourse in 1917 he took refuge in a wonderfully comprehensive review of the whole state of learning and the problems awaiting solution. As to his general attitude during the war, it might suffice to quote the preface to 'Essays and Addresses in War Time,' written when the issue was no longer doubtful: 'Happily that which we most desired has come to pass. This is a War of Principles, and the course of events has vindicated the principles of morality and humanity that were at stake.' But I will mention, for my own pleasure and that of some fellow-workers, that Bryce accepted the presidency of an association which, under the title of 'Fight for Right,' did some fairly good service until, towards the end of the war, it was absorbed in a grander scheme of official propaganda. Like many similar undertakings, it is now hardly remembered save by those who took an active part in it. Indeed, most men have almost forgotten the official committee which in the first year of the war, with Bryce as its chairman, reported on the conduct of the German troops in Belgium and the invaded districts of France. The weight of that report, to which no substantial answer has been or can be made, was largely due to Bryce's judicial temper; not that he could not feel, or thought it proper to conceal, just indignation at enormous crimes, but he made sure of justice first.

Bryce's latest contribution to the British Academy, after his term of office, was the Raleigh lecture delivered in 1919; the subject being World History, a title in itself too vast to convey any definite conception. The treatment, however, proceeded on the definite and fruitful lines of considering the transition from the earlier attempts at universal chronicles to systematic study of the divergent and convergent tendencies in human society. Original separation and isolation of individual groups, and the formation of distinct and estranged nations, are counterworked in later times by the improvement of communications and the growth of cosmopolitan interests. After a survey of this field, in which there was no trace of failing power or skill,

Digitized by Google

Bryce put the question: 'What has World History to tell us about human progress? Does the experience of the Past encourage belief in a brighter Future?' There has been more lately a desultory controversy on this very question. Eminent persons took part in it, but the discussion failed even to lead to any better definition of the conflicting opinions. Bryce's answer was not cited, to the best of my remembrance, by any of the combatants. Having no thesis to support, he took the way of scholarly good sense, and pointed out that the question is unmeaning unless we distinguish the different kinds of progress or improvement. Progress at large is nothing; progress in what and towards what? Proceeding to the necessary distinctions, Bryce observes that as to the material enjoyment of life we have certainly gained much; as to knowledge and mastery of nature even more; but that in the quality of the best individual men, and the proportion of great thinkers or artists to the multitude, there is no visible advance within historic times.

'The great creative spirits, men like Archimedes and Newton, the men of wide vision and profound discernment, appear from time to time, but hardly more frequently than they did in the past. The Temple of Knowledge rises rapidly, but it rises by the co-operative toil of an increasing number of trained workers, who cut, raise, and lay the stones better than men knew how to do some centuries ago. But the architects who can design a noble building and the artists who can decorate it with inventive grace are as rare as ever.'

Finally, the average standard of moral judgment and conduct appeared to be rising in civilised countries before the Great War, but now much has happened to disturb the optimism bred in the 19th century. Still, 'we may possibly be now only passing through the trough of what meteorologists call a transitory depression.' Beyond that sober hope Bryce wisely declined to prophesy. When these things have been said, it is easy to persuade oneself that, after all, they are commonplaces. But the fact remains that Bryce gave a more rational account of the matter in two pages than several writers who handled it after him contrived among them all to give in considerably more than two score.

Digitized by Google

Limits of space and time are inexorable, and this attempt to give form to the impressions laid up during more than fifty years is only such as I could make it within those limits. Yet it should be enough to serve as provisional proof (for doubtless there is more to come) that Bryce's place is high and assured among those whom we now call eminent Victorians. That is a name which the fashion of the day couples with a shade of depreciation. Every generation tends to depreciate its immediate ancestors; the masters of Bryce's youth misunderstood and disparaged the works and the methods of the 18th century; they are disparaged in their turn by the rising generation of the 20th; the settled judgment of posterity will redress the balance.

So far as the accidents of date go, no man could be more Victorian than one who was born in the first year of Queen Victoria's reign, but posterity will judge, if I mistake not, that Bryce was singularly free from the besetting intellectual defects of his contemporaries. The root of those defects was insularity, not so much proceeding from any native British character as thrust upon British habits and learning by the long estrangement of these islands from the continent of Europe during the twenty years of all but incessant war that followed on the French Revolution. In the whole field of the political sciences English authors were, with few exceptions, engrossed by purely English preoccupations and interests, not to say prejudices. Bryce, on the contrary, was the least insular of our conspicuous writers since Gibbon. He thought and wrote as a citizen not only of his country but of the world, and thereby did the best possible service to his own countrymen. Our grandchildren will begin life with a wider outlook and more adequate instruction than we did; they can make no better use of their advantages than to emulate Bryce's example.

FREDERICK POLLOCK.

Digitized by Google

Art. 11.—THE EGYPTIAN PROBLEM.

1. *Report of the Special Mission to Egypt.* [Cmd. 1131.]
2. *Papers respecting Negotiations with the Egyptian Delegation.* 'Egypt,' No. 4 (1921). [Cmd. 1555.]
3. *Correspondence respecting Affairs in Egypt.* [In continuation of 'Egypt,' No. 4 (1921).] [Cmd. 1592.]

OF the many unpleasant surprises which awaited the British people after the Great War, none was more painful than the discovery in the spring of 1919 that Egypt was in a state of rebellion. Egypt, they had been taught to believe, was a standing witness to British Administration; and its people had gratefully accepted the benefits conferred upon them by British brains and energy during the forty years of the occupation. These benefits were, indeed, many and striking. The country had been miraculously rescued from a slough of insolvency, corruption, and misgovernment, and converted into a land of prosperity and plenty. Its peasantry, relieved from the corvée and the courbash, had been enabled to reap the fruits of their toil in peace under the shadow of a protecting power which stood between them and their oppressors. Great irrigation works had been instituted, which helped to enrich both Pashas and fellahin. Foreign exploitation had been carefully kept in check, so that the Egyptian should have the first claim on the produce of Egypt. No man had ever worked with such disinterested zeal for a country not his own as Lord Cromer for Egypt; and seldom had a government been backed by more able and zealous officials. Finally, under the protection of Great Britain, Egypt had been sheltered from the miseries of the Great War, and emerged from it with her wealth increased and her taxation at a mercifully low level compared with that of the belligerent Powers. Why, then, were these people rebellious? why, above all, the fellahin, who had always been relied upon to remain loyal to their British protectors, whatever might be the sentiments of the town populations? In any case, what was to be done?

These, roughly, were the questions propounded to the members of the Special Mission—of whom the present writer was one—which, under Lord Milner's

Digitized by Google

chairmanship, was despatched to Egypt in November 1919. A part of the answer can best be supplied by a simple narrative of events before and after the despatch of this Mission. The year 1919 had been full of trouble. The Egyptians, kindled like other Eastern peoples by the 'Fourteen Points,' had made up their minds that the end of the war was the ripe moment for a resettlement of their relations with the British Empire. They had accepted the Protectorate, or so they protested, as a war-measure, with the expectation that, when peace came, it would be followed by a revision of the whole situation. The greatly harassed Home Government, its mind filled with the coming Peace Conference, had no leisure for these side-issues; and in vain the High Commissioner, Sir Reginald Wingate, kept repeating that the question was urgent. To the Egyptians nothing in the wide world seemed so urgent. Suspicions were arising that the 'Protectorate' was not after all a war-measure, but a cunning device to blot out the 'status' of Egypt and bring her forcibly under the British flag. The advanced Nationalist group under Zaghlul Pasha demanded leave to send its leader and two delegates to London with a programme of 'complete autonomy.' The Prime Minister, Rushdi Pasha, more modestly proposed that he should come with his colleague, Adli Pasha Yeghem, the Minister of Education, to discuss the affairs of Egypt with the British Government. To the first the answer was that 'no useful purpose would be served' by their coming, to the second that the time was not 'opportune.' This was the beginning of mischief and, however it may be excused by the exigencies of the hour, a sad and expensive blunder.

From that moment the Nationalist movement began to boil up to the danger point. The Prime Minister resigned, and no Egyptian could be found to replace him. Raising his demand from 'complete autonomy' to 'complete independence,' Zaghlul presented a petition to the Sultan, which was generally interpreted as an attempt at intimidation; and he was thereupon deported to Malta, with three of his principal associates. The agitation now took a violent form, and from March 12, 1919, to the end of the month, nearly the whole of the Delta and a large part of Upper Egypt was in a state of

Digitized by Google

active rebellion. The disorder was suppressed without great difficulty by the forces then on the spot; and on March 25 Lord Allenby, the Commander-in-Chief, who had been absent in Paris, came on the scene as special High Commissioner in the absence of Sir Reginald Wingate, who had been recalled to London to consult with the Government before the rebellion broke out. With Lord Allenby's appearance, the previous policy was reversed, and all embargoes on the departure of Egyptians desiring to travel in Europe were raised. This carried with it the release from Malta of Zaghlul and his three associates, who were now free either to return to Egypt or to transfer their activities elsewhere. Zaghlul went to Paris, and conducted a strenuous campaign in Europe and America as well as Egypt.

This reversion, after the rebellion, of a disciplinary measure previously deemed to be essential could scarcely be imputed to us as an act of grace, and was bound to produce the impression, as the Mission afterwards reported, that 'British policy was wavering and liable to quick changes under pressure of agitation.' As a fact, it did nothing to stem the Nationalist movement, which inevitably hardened under the punitive measures necessary after the Rebellion, moderate and judicious as these on the whole were. For the next few months Lord Allenby found himself compelled to govern without an Egyptian Ministry; and, though a group of intrepid men was eventually induced to take up the responsibility in the teeth of the opposition of their countrymen and at considerable personal risk, the situation was hard set when the Special Mission arrived in Egypt at the beginning of December. The Egyptians had made up their minds that it had come to rivet the fetters of the Protectorate upon them; and word went out that it was to be absolutely boycotted, and life made as unpleasant and dangerous as possible for those Egyptians who had dealings with it.

This background must be kept in mind if the subsequent history is to be understood. The Special Mission went out not to debate at leisure upon the ideal constitution for Egypt but to deal with an urgent and perilous situation. What might have been done with comparative ease at the beginning of the year was

Digitized by Google

extremely difficult if not impossible to do at the end of it. Under its terms of reference the Mission was required to 'report on the existing situation in the country and the form of the Constitution which, under the Protectorate, will be best calculated to promote its peace and prosperity, the progressive development of self-governing institutions and protection of foreign interests.' Had these words been strictly interpreted, Lord Milner would very speedily have been obliged to say that there was no form of government which, *under the Protectorate*, could be expected to have the desired results. The name, if not the thing, was hopelessly damned. Attempts to explain that it did not mean what the Nationalists declared it to mean were altogether futile. It was *Himaya*, a word notoriously signifying a servile condition, unworthy of a self-respecting people which claimed to be a nation. The most diluted of Nationalists could not be persuaded even to argue about it. For that we had ourselves very largely to thank. We had rushed to the Protectorate, on the principle of 'any port in a storm,' when the entrance into the war of Turkey, the Suzerain of Egypt, would automatically have converted the whole Egyptian population into enemy aliens, if some new status could not have been found for them; and we had deliberately adopted it in preference to annexation, which would probably have inflamed Mohammedan sentiment and possibly have created difficulties with our French allies, to whom in 1904 we had pledged ourselves not to alter the status of Egypt. But we had never explained either to ourselves or to the Egyptians what exactly we meant by it—a dangerous omission which caused the unhappy word to become the prey of suspicion and animosity in the troubled months after the war.

Within a few weeks of their arrival the question which the Mission had to face was whether they would stand on the word—in which case they would have had to report to the Government that the question of Egypt was a question for soldiers and not for them—or whether they would go forward on the assumption that British interests might be secured in some other way which did not hopelessly clash with Egyptian sentiment. There could be no question—or so it seemed to the Mission—which of these alternatives was the right one; and the

Digitized by Google

inquiry now took the form of determining how far the claim to independence which came unanimously from all schools of Nationalists could be reconciled with the great and acknowledged British interests in Egypt. The story is fully set out in the Report of the Mission (Cmd. 1131), and the conclusions are too familiar to need treatment in detail. But one or two general observations may be made. The report astonished the unthinking public, and even apparently some members of the Government, who had come to imagine that Egypt was an integral part of the British Empire. It is, of course, not that and never has been. Great Britain has been the occupying Power and the Protecting Power, but never, in theory, the possessing Power. She intervened in 1882 to restore order, and, in default of the co-operation of other Powers (which though invited was declined), undertook responsibilities which could only be discharged by the occupation of the country. But throughout this occupation she was studiously careful to observe the theory that Egypt was a self-governing country subject only to the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey; and her representative was in name merely 'Agent and Consul General,' the exponent, like the representatives of other Powers, of the views and interests of his Government to the Government of Egypt. In 1887 we proposed to evacuate the country if order were maintained for three years, and were only prevented from doing so because the Sultan, at the last moment, and on the instigation of another Power, refused to sign the convention which gave us the power of intervening again if order was disturbed. Subsequent Governments have both disowned the idea of annexing the country and declared in the words of Sir Eldon Gorst that their 'fundamental idea' was 'to prepare the Egyptians for self-government, while helping them in the meantime to enjoy the benefits of good government.'

The story is still unfinished, but let me run rapidly over the subsequent stages. The Milner Mission succeeded in one way and another in breaking down the Nationalist boycott; and, after they had returned from Egypt, Zaghlul Pasha came from Paris with the members of his delegation to confer with them in London about the basis of a settlement. At the same time Adli Pasha

Digitized by Google

came from Egypt and took a useful and prominent part in the 'conversations' which followed. These lasted from June till the end of November 1920, and were throughout entirely amicable on both sides. The outlines were quickly agreed on. (The Egyptians said with one accord that, though they objected to having an inferior status imposed upon them by the British Government, they would welcome a Treaty of Alliance freely entered into on both sides, which, while establishing the independence of Egypt, would give to Great Britain all the safeguards and guarantees which the Protectorate was intended to secure. They desired no other foreign influence in Egypt; they recognised that there must be a British force in the country to guard the great Imperial communications which ran through it, and that we must be satisfied of their ability to keep order and protect the interests of the important foreign communities resident in it. They were aware, they said, of the great danger of any sudden break in administration, and desired to enlist the services of a considerable number of the British officials now in the country. To make an end of the Protectorate and to substitute for it a Treaty of Alliance in which Egypt should freely accord to us the guarantees we needed was, therefore, it seemed to the Mission, the right and obvious line of advance.)

There were, of course, lively discussions about the 'guarantees,' but only one of these is now a first-class issue. This is the location of the British force to guard Imperial communication. As the Egyptians know, there is no possible position from which it could not be rapidly concentrated upon their principal cities in case of grave emergency, but they regarded its actual presence in those cities as visibly stamping it with the character of an army to keep them in subjection; and the Mission were of opinion that Egyptian susceptibilities should be deferred to in this respect after a longer or shorter interval in which the new accommodation might be provided and incidentally the Egyptian capacity for keeping order be tested. Some military opinion has objected that a force situated outside the cities would be liable to have its water-supply cut by a hostile Egypt; but, if it is thought necessary to provide against this risk, it should not be difficult to find a site which could

Digitized by Google

be supplied, like the district of Tanta in the Delta, by artesian wells. The Egyptians realised during those discussions and, I hope, will continue to realise, that the solution of this and many other problems lies in giving time for the necessary changes and avoiding sudden breaks with the present order before they are sure of their ground. The Mission, I may add here, were of opinion that all possible steps should be taken to procure the release of Egypt from the 'capitulations' which now hamper her financial freedom and compel her to submit to a multitude of foreign jurisdictions, to the great detriment of law and order and effective police control. International relationships have unfortunately not been favourable to this part of the scheme, but no one who knows the conditions can doubt that a serious attempt will sooner or later have to be made to effect this reform.

Lord Milner's Report was presented at the beginning of December 1920; and, if the Government had been prompt in accepting it and had commissioned him to go forward and negotiate the proposed treaty, I believe that a settlement would have been reached within a very few weeks. There was at that moment the great advantage that all the Nationalist parties were united and that none of them had any motive for the jealous and hostile scrutiny of each other which is the besetting sin of Nationalists everywhere. But the Government unfortunately could not make up their minds; and it was not until the middle of February 1921 that they decided to go forward tentatively on the basis of the Report, and took the initial step enabling Adli Pasha to form a Government and to undertake the negotiations with London. But by that time trouble had broken out among the Nationalists; and Zaghlul Pasha, who had declared himself unwilling to form a Government, returned from Paris and took up an attitude of hostility to Adli, whom he charged with a weak complaisance to a British Government which evidently meant to yield nothing. Riots attended with some loss of life took place in Alexandria; and, though they were not more serious than those which had been daily incidents in certain Irish towns, they afforded the opponents of a settlement the opportunity of saying that the Egyptians were evidently incapable of keeping order in their own

Digitized by Google

country. When, therefore, Adli Pasha came to London in May to negotiate the treaty, the situation was definitely worse than when the Milner Report was presented. Once more there were long delays, which showed little consideration for the Egyptian Prime Minister's position and the effect produced among his own countrymen. Finally, in November 1921, the negotiations broke down, for reasons which have never been sufficiently explained. Egypt at that moment had apparently got involved in the politics of the United Kingdom; and the 'die-hards,' who had reluctantly consented to the settlement with Ireland, rejoiced that they had at all events been spared the mortification of a similar 'surrender' in Egypt. Egyptian hopes were now at their lowest ebb; and on Dec. 3 Lord Allenby was instructed to present a letter to the Sultan which seemed finally to extinguish them. Whoever was the author of this letter, he must be congratulated on having packed into a thousand words the largest number of expressions calculated to wound the susceptibilities of Egyptians and to kill their gratitude for the many and great benefits which they have undoubtedly received at the hands of Great Britain. Egypt was now sternly reminded that she was 'a part of the communications of the British Empire.' So might a Roman Emperor have spoken to a Province of Gaul in the first century.

We had thus had and lost three opportunities of settling with the Egyptians, first after the Armistice, secondly after the return of the Milner Mission, thirdly in the negotiations with Adli Pasha. We are now (at the time of writing) starting on a fourth in which Lord Allenby, the High Commissioner, himself is taking the principal part. It was a fair presumption, on reading the letter to the Sultan, that the Government intended to close the Egyptian question, at least for their term of office. The Egyptians would not yield what the Government thought necessary, and the Government would not yield what the Egyptians claimed as their rights; therefore the question was at an end. But this was not and could not be the view of the High Commissioner and the British officials who had to carry on in Egypt. They were confronted with the old dilemma. Either Egypt had to be governed by force and martial law and even

Digitized by Google

the vestiges of Egyptian independence wiped out, or a friendly settlement had somehow to be reached. The first alternative was possible with a certain expenditure of force, but it was an expensive adventure for a Government compelled under pressure of opinion to make drastic economies, and almost certain, before it was ended, to bring discredit on the name of Great Britain and to cause serious reactions in other parts of her Eastern Empire. The other alternative, in the opinion of these experienced administrators, was always feasible and had only been prevented by blundering and misunderstanding. What followed may be read in or between the lines of the White Paper (Cmd. 1592) issued at the end of February last. Under pressure from the men on the spot, the Government was compelled, during the three months following the failure of the Adli negotiations, to revise its opinion that Egyptian Nationalists would succumb to the firm language of the December letter. While this letter remained the last word of British policy, Lord Allenby found himself unable to obtain the services of any Egyptian Ministers or to discover any way of governing the country which would not have required a far larger army than any British Government has ever stationed permanently in Egypt.

But the old story of the Sibylline books applies in Egypt as in Ireland; and there are certain difficulties in the fourth approach to this question which need not have been encountered at the first. Lord Allenby's proposals differ in no material respect from Lord Milner's. He too relies on the abolition of the Protectorate, the recognition of Egypt as a 'Sovereign Independent State,' and the settlement by agreement with that State of the essential requirements of Great Britain. But since he has to find a way round the door that was closed last December, his approach is necessarily different. He makes unconditionally the concessions to Egyptian Nationalism that Lord Milner desired to be part of a Treaty, which in return gave the necessary guarantees to Great Britain; and he leaves these guarantees 'until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accommodation on both sides to conclude agreements with regard thereto between his Majesty's Government and the Government of Egypt.'

Digitized by Google

There are, I think, great advantages in proceeding by treaty which we shall not easily obtain in any other way. The Egyptians, like most Eastern peoples, are sensitive on the point of honour; and a Treaty of amity and good will would have touched their imagination as no other procedure can. Eventually, the contemplated 'agreements' should be cast in the form of a Treaty.

In the meantime, Lord Allenby has succeeded, by these concessions, in obtaining the formation of an Egyptian Government under Sarwat Pasha, an able and influential Nationalist; and at the time of writing, steps are being taken for the removal of martial law and the election of an Assembly under free and uncensored conditions. These beginnings are all to the good, but it would be foolish, after three years of unrest, to expect a complete settlement in as many weeks. Lord Allenby has felt compelled to take the strong step of banishing the Nationalist leader Zaghlul, who for two years out of these three was the most popular figure in Egypt; and, until the Assembly is elected and comes to grip with the 'guarantees,' we shall not know for certain what the strength of his following may be or what demands it may make. In the meantime we must exercise patience and be prepared for hitches. The one thing to be guarded against is the hasty seizing of pretexts to swing back to the policy of force on the plea that conciliation has been tried and failed. Let the British people realise that what is being asked of them is not the surrender of anything that is legally theirs but the performance of promises many times repeated. All intelligent Egyptians are aware that the interests of Great Britain in the Suez Canal and in the Nile Valley require that British influence shall be paramount over all other foreign influences in their country, and that British relations shall continue to be intimate with their Government and Administration. They think, however—and we have professed to agree with them—that this influence and these relations should be conformable with their status as an independent self-governing people.

Such being the general course of events, it remains to deal with certain of the more specific causes of the recent unrest. There is no need to rehearse the benefits

Digitized by Google

which the British occupation has conferred on Egypt, for they are admitted even by the most fervent Nationalists. But it was always improbable that Egyptian Nationalism would be killed by British kindness; and we had from the beginning to expect that the memory of Mahomed Ali would revive as the memory of Ismail died down. Many circumstances have conspired in recent years to give edge and sharpness to the Nationalist movement; and in the forefront we must put the fact that we have failed to satisfy the ambitions of the educated Egyptians. Lord Cromer continually repeated during the years of his administration that one of his principal objects was to render the Egyptian people fit to govern themselves; and he instituted a system of education which—unfortunately for the country as a whole—had the special purpose of enabling them to be competent officials. It was, therefore, a reasonable expectation that the number of British officials would be strictly limited, and that Egyptians would be brought in to meet the expanding needs of the service. The Egyptians, in fact, came to believe that a secondary education certificate carried with it the right to an official position. For reasons which it is difficult to ascertain precisely, these expectations have been disappointed. Lord Cromer in his earlier days worked with a British staff of from three to four hundred; his successors in recent years have had from 1600 to 1700. Making all allowance for the growth of population, this is an altogether unnecessary increase; and it means that a great deal of work which could and ought to be done by Egyptians has been put into British hands. The number of Egyptians employed in the higher posts actually decreased from 27·7 per cent. in 1905 to 23 per cent. in 1920. This the Egyptians regard as a most serious grievance and a distinct breach of the pledge that we intended to prepare them for the government of their own country. Intelligent Egyptians are well aware that their country cannot get on without British aid in the higher administrative posts; and I do not believe they will have any hesitation in continuing the services of the considerable number of highly efficient and sympathetic British officials who form the cream of the service, but they have greatly resented the appointment

Digitized by Google

of Englishmen who have no special skill or competence to positions which, in their view, belong rightfully to Egyptians, and are remunerated with Egyptian money.

Further, as British officials have multiplied, they have more and more tended to live apart from their Egyptian neighbours. This is a feature of life in Egypt which is generally remarked by those who return to the country after an absence of twenty years. Officials of the old type lived in Cairo, mixed freely and were on intimate terms with Egyptians. The modern officials are largely concentrated in their residential quarters on the Island of Ghezireh, which, in the words of the Milner Report, 'has come to be a self-contained community, furnished like an Indian cantonment with a complete equipment for social intercourse, sport, and physical exercise.' There are of course difficulties in the way of free and unembarrassed relations between men and women of different races and customs, but officials of the old type found a way through them, and too many of the new type think it no part of their duty even to make the attempt. Undoubtedly this has been a cause of estrangement between British and Egyptians, and it has made the fact of the alien occupation more obtrusive than it need have been. Friction has also been caused by the stream of light-hearted tourists who forget the mischief that may be done by failure to observe the conventions of conduct and to render the courtesies which a very courteous people expects and deserves.

It must be added that, if Egypt was sheltered from the worst effects of the war, she suffered not a little in her pride and self-esteem from the rough-and-ready methods of soldiers in war-time. A proud people feels the sting when a multitude of strangers descends upon it and treats it indiscriminately as an inferior coloured race. If we wish to retain the good will of Eastern countries in these emergencies, nothing, I think, would be more useful than to include in the training of officers, whether British or from the Dominions, some simple code of instruction as to the customs and manners of these countries and the respect that should be paid to them. 'The game is up,' said an old British resident to me just before I left Egypt in 1920, 'for the West won't mend its manners, and the East won't stand them

Digitized by Google

any more.' I hope it is not necessary to take that gloomy view, but, whether in Egypt or in India, the mending of manners is an immense part of the question between East and West.

To these intangible causes of unrest which had accumulated at the end of the war we must add the fact that the British position had outwardly and visibly undergone a momentous change. In place of the 'Agent and Consul-General' who went modestly about his business and made no claim to any legal or formal power not enjoyed by the representatives of other Powers, there was now a British High Commissioner in the person of a distinguished soldier who governed frankly by martial law. About martial law he had no alternative. Apart from order or disorder in Egypt, he could not without it overcome the impediments which the Capitulations threw in the way of the necessary taxation. But to Egyptian eyes the whole régime seemed to be militarised; and they interpreted the 'Protectorate' as meaning that we intended in future to rule through a military high chieftain who would be very nearly a despot. That was not our intention, but the failure to disclose any other intention, and the long delay which followed before we began seriously to listen to the Egyptian case, heightened the suspicion and hardened the Nationalist sentiment.

These, however, were mainly the grievances of the educated and professional classes in the towns; and at the beginning of 1919 British officials were still confident that the fellahin could be trusted to support our rule. This optimism was rudely shaken by the March rebellion. As in India, so in Egypt, it was proved that the black-coated minority had, by virtue of language and religion, a power over the illiterate masses which it was difficult or impossible for British officials to control. The Egyptian fellah is ordinarily a quiet hard-working peasant, though subject to lawless moods. At the end of the war he had certain grievances of a material kind. He had been taken compulsorily for service in the Palestine Labour battalions, notwithstanding the promise made to him at the beginning of the war that he would not be required to take part in the war against Turkey. He had for the most part no objection to the service, when he was in it,

Digitized by Google

but he objected to the method by which he was recruited, and still more, to certain other methods practised by the village headmen in requisitioning his beasts and produce for the army. Harassed British officials had handed this part of the military business over to Egyptians, who undoubtedly in a good many cases acted dishonestly and oppressively. There was also a religious unrest, hard to fathom or measure, but undoubtedly a very real cause of trouble at that moment. The fellah had no love for the Turk, but, when the students poured out of the Mosques to tell him that the downfall of Turkey was the defeat of Islam, and that it threatened him with permanent subjection to the infidel, unless he bestirred himself, undoubtedly he listened.

A different question arises when we consider how the fellahin may fare under Egyptian rule. The Milner Mission necessarily gave anxious consideration to this point and sought the advice of those who are most intimately acquainted with the village life of Egypt. There is a consensus of opinion that the fellah is a very different man from what he was forty, twenty, and even ten years ago. He knows the benefits of good and just administration and is not likely to submit easily to being deprived of them. Omdehs and others who may be tempted to revert to the old ways would do well to reflect on the generally acknowledged fact that the fellah's belief that he had been imposed upon was at least a contributory cause of the March rebellion. The consequences then fell upon us, but the warning would be for our successors, if we ceased to be responsible. But the Egyptian Pasha and landowner is also a different man from his forbear. He too has modern ideas and knows how essential a contented and industrious peasantry is to the great interest of cotton-growing. In any case the idea of Egyptian independence has spread far through the villages, and we should not be on strong ground in refusing it satisfaction for the sake of giving the fellah a protection which he does not desire and may even violently repudiate.

The sum of the whole matter is that we are now proposing to give Egyptians the opportunity of making their government in fact what it has always been in theory — a government by the King of Egypt, an

Digitized by Google

Egyptian Ministry, and an Egyptian Assembly. We have been promising to do this for a generation or more, and we cannot go on promising without being called upon for performance. The present is, I believe, the right time for a bold experiment. There are many capable Egyptians who ought to be encouraged to take responsibility for the government of their own country, and not a few Egyptian questions which can only be settled by a native Government which will face its people frankly and have the courage to tax them sufficiently for the development of their country and its civilisation. But intelligent Egyptians are well aware of two things: first, that in their present stage they cannot dispense with British aid; and, next, that there can be no serious disorder in their country which would not bring them face to face with foreign intervention, and this would inevitably again be British. The solution of the peculiar relationship in which Great Britain and Egypt stand to each other is that of a free partnership in which Egypt voluntarily asks our assistance and pledges us hers. I believe that this is a possible attainment without sacrifice of independence or self-respect on either side. There is, in spite of all that has happened, a great fund of good will among Egyptians towards Englishmen of the right disposition; and this feeling is happily reciprocated by many Englishmen who have spent their lives in the country, who are attached to its people, and who will find a real satisfaction in helping it to realise its status as a sovereign State. Here, as in all Eastern countries, the future of British influence is largely a question of personality and character. It is of course true that Egypt is in one of its aspects a 'communication of the British Empire'; but, for the guarding of this communication, there is no military precaution, no assertion of authority, which is at all comparable to the security offered by a friendly Egyptian people. And none, it may be added, will give equal assurance for the maintenance of British influence in Egypt.

J. A. SPENDER.

Digitized by Google

Art. 12.—THE NEW LETTERS OF BYRON.

Lord Byron's Correspondence chiefly with Lady Melbourne, Mr Hobhouse, the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, and P. B. Shelley. Two vols. Murray, 1922.

AN important series of unpublished letters of Byron has long been known to exist. The collection was inherited by Lady Dorchester from her father, John Cam Hobhouse, Byron's most intimate friend. At her death, in 1914, she bequeathed them to Mr Murray, who is the editor as well as the publisher of the correspondence. True to the traditions of his house, he is concerned with Byron on his literary side as the poet of acknowledged genius, and not with his moral delinquencies, proved or unproved. It would have been easy to give seasoning to the volumes by emphasising the bearing of this or that passage on the controversies which still rage round Byron's name. Mr Murray has not attempted anything of the kind. He has underlined nothing. He has also, as he tells us, omitted nothing. It was the wisest, and indeed the only, course to adopt. One copy, if not two copies, of the correspondence is known to exist in manuscript. It might have been deposited in the British Museum, and so made available to the public in the misleading form of extracts. Instead of selected passages, Mr Murray prints the actual text of the originals. With admirable self-restraint, he has avoided all superfluous comment. He has been content to give, in the briefest space, the biographical links which connect the letters as an intelligible whole. He has supplied those notes, and only those, which are indispensable for the identification of the persons, the events, and the allusions that pass across the pages.

On the whole, it may be said that the new collection adds more to the bulk than to the quality of Byron's letters. It contains no single letter which is better than many of those previously printed. Except in its revelation of the important part played by Lady Caroline Lamb in the tragedy of Byron's life, its biographical value is slight. Taken by itself, the first volume is unfair to the man from the tiresome monotony of the subject-matter. The levity, the egotism, the licentiousness of

Digitized by Google

Byron are forced into excessive prominence. They stand out without the relief of his genius for friendship, his generosities, his love of children, his hatred of war, his pity for human suffering, or the touches of wistfulness and pathos, all of which, in the collection as a whole, soften the depths of the shadows. Interspersed with the three hundred other letters and fragments of his journal, which belong to the same period, the letters to Lady Melbourne would produce a less exaggerated effect. The number of the published letters now considerably exceeds sixteen hundred. This abundance of material for his life-history is not to Byron's advantage. Shakespeare is trebly blessed in that so little is known about his human relationships. An age more addicted to letter-writing, and more curious about its greatest men, might have preserved the correspondence relating to Ann Hathaway, the Dark Lady, and perhaps other loves, with the result that to-day we might be discussing his morals instead of reading his works and thrilling with pride that he was of our race. Byron is triply accursed, because we already know too much about his private affairs, and want to know more. Instead of enjoying 'Don Juan' as a priceless gift to our literature, we are still wrangling over an unproved scandal of his domestic life.

Byron is in this respect himself mainly to blame. He was his own worst enemy with the pen as well as with the tongue. Through his letters he has given to the world an intimate autobiography of a peculiar kind. It was not prepared for publication by a man who, at the close of his life, chooses what to omit and what to relate. It was not even revised or corrected for the press. It contains no studied attitudes, no carefully considered phrases. Many an artist, with brush or pen, has painted his own portrait. But hardly any one except Byron has left behind him so complete a series of 'snap-shots' of himself in every sort of position and temper. They represent the man in many moods, his sulks, his merriments—often saddest when they were gayest—his passing whims and fugitive fancies set down as they came and went with characteristic vivacity. Few men could be subjected to such a test and retain their reputations. In the piquant candour of their self-revelations, the letters resemble the delectable 'Diary of Samuel Pepys.' In a

Digitized by Google

large, sprawling, unpunctuated hand-writing, circulated among all and sundry of his contemporaries, Byron is as intimate in his confidences as was Pepys in the confessions which he entrusted to the imagined secrecy of his cipher. The resemblance ends with the candour. When two men admit of no comparison in character, intellectual power, and circumstances, the impressions created by their books necessarily differ. No ordinary man can help liking Pepys. It requires some study to like Byron. The simple, natural vanities of the one are as amusing as the sexual and aristocratic vanities of the other are repellent. The confidences of Pepys are quiet and carry conviction; those of Byron are noisy and sometimes seem to ring false. In another respect the Letters are at a disadvantage. They describe the life which Byron lived openly and without disguise. Their humour is occasional and, so to speak, imported. But throughout the Diary runs the slyness of unexpected asides; it is steeped in a natural atmosphere of unconscious humour derived from the double life revealed, and the contrast between the public duties and the private pleasures of the precise Government official.

Samuel Pepys made his confidences in conditions that are never likely to recur. It is unreasonable to expect that confessions in long-hand can match the peculiar qualities of candour in a secret cipher. But, open though Byron is in his confidences, there is one side of his life and personality on which his letters are reserved. He locks the door of his poetic workshop and jealously guards the key. Into this region even Lady Melbourne is only partially admitted. He tells her that he writes to get away from himself and to soothe his irritated feelings. That is all. She was allowed to see too much of the flippant, flashy side of the man of society. She saw nothing of the tender, passionate, remorseful, melancholy, and solitary nature of the poet. Byron consults her over the choice of a wife or a mistress, never on the subject of a poem. Even when he seems to turn his heart inside out for her inspection, he keeps hidden the corner of his poetical life. He maintains a similar reserve in most of his letters to other intimate friends. They are bare of revelations about the composition of his poetry.

Digitized by Google

The reticence may have been partly an affectation. Byron did, in fact, work at lightning speed. But he was also not superior to the vanity of encouraging the impression that his poetry was struck off in a white heat of inspiration. Literary labour was inconsistent with his birth and position. It would have outraged the tone of a fashionable society, which agreed with the Duke of Devonshire's estimate of his illustrious cousin, Henry Cavendish—'he is not a gentleman; he works.' But, in the main, Byron's reserve on these high subjects was not a pose. Weak and irresolute as he was in the ordinary affairs of life, he was self-reliant in literary matters. He had a true perception of his own powers. In the choice of themes and method of treatment he had the independence and isolation of genius. He knew where his strength lay better than his friends. Hobhouse was, on points of literature, a poor critic and a depressing influence. Kinnaird advised him to write for the stage. His sister and Countess Guiccioli persuaded him to discontinue 'Don Juan.' Even Shelley, his only associate of his own intellectual calibre, went as wrong as the others when he urged him to write an epic of the age in the style of the 'Iliad.' He did indeed submit his completed manuscripts to the criticism of friends, accepted their suggestions with docility, acquiesced in omissions with good-tempered ferocity. But in the conception and shaping of work which ranks him with the immortals, he consulted no one, and went his own way. The result is a loss of balance which is particularly apparent in this collection of his letters. They illustrate his amazing cleverness; they are a full record of his follies; they hardly give a hint of his poetic achievements, or of the sources from which they sprang. He was a greater man than he at all allowed himself to appear to be in the letters alone.

Had Byron never written a line of poetry, his letters would give him a place in literature. What his exact rank may be among those who have excelled in the 'gentle art' of letter-writing is certain to be disputed. Comparisons are barren of definite results. Walpole resembles the play of the fountains of Versailles; Cowper suggests the placid course of the Ouse through the flat meadows which encircle Olney; Byron is like a Highland

Digitized by Google

river in spate. All that can be said is that his letters satisfy the most reliable test of excellence. Easy and natural, they approach as nearly as written words can do to good conversation. They are intensely alive. In vivacity and versatility, in zest, in mental power, at once brilliant and varied, in range of entertainment, in fullness of self-revelation, they are unsurpassed. But their violence is apt to give that impression of falsity which in letters is an unpardonable sin. It suggests the stage rather than the real man. Yet, in the ordinary sense of the word, the impression of insincerity is not wholly justified. It is an insincerity to himself rather than to the reader. It is a confession of his profound self-distrust. When he is at his noisiest, he is trying to convince himself that he is stronger than he really knows himself to be. Almost pathetically conscious of his irresolution, he bolsters up his weakness by the loudness of his exclamations. Any one who reads his letters by the side of one of those from Shelley, which are printed in these volumes, must be struck by the contrast. The nature of the modest, retiring, ethereal Shelley is by far the strongest. He had ideals of life; Byron had none. His letters, therefore, are true to nature. They represent one side of the real man. They do not fail in the test of being sincere tell-tales to character.

To add another to the many imperfect portraits of Byron would be superfluous. The letters are an unsparing record of his short and crowded life. Different readers will draw from them different impressions. Some may with justice dismiss him with the verdict 'serve him right.' Others, struck by the pathos of his death, may be tempted to seek in his character reasons for the shipwreck of his life. To say that a man gifted with genius, with rare personal beauty, with high social position and a sufficiency of worldly means, was handicapped at the start, sounds absurd. None the less it is, in a sense, true. No defence can be legitimately urged for the moral delinquencies of the men or women of literary genius. They cannot claim exceptional treatment. There is, however, this to be said. The creative genius of imaginative poets does not depend on the gift of some peculiar quality denied to ordinary men. It

Digitized by Google

rather lies in the abnormal strength and abundance of qualities common to all. It is a difference in degree rather than in kind—in the force and passion, for instance, of emotional feeling or in the vividness and fusing power of the imagination. Men so richly gifted are naturally apt to rebel against the conventions or the public opinion which regulate the life of the average of mankind. They offend from their excess of ordinary qualities, just as, at the opposite end of the scale, men offend from their deficiency. The balance of character may be maintained by the check of other gifts and qualities, or by the self-control implanted by the formative influence of early life. In Byron's case, the emotional, sensuous, imaginative equipment was rich and abundant. If he displayed to the world 'the pageant of his bleeding heart,' it was at any rate a pageant and not a peep-show. It was full-blooded, not anæmic. But the checks and restraints were wanting. He had no moral strength, no firmness of resolution, no sense of personal responsibility. Lady Melbourne was right when she called him a weather-cock. In pursuit of any object, the strength of his feeling held the vane steady with the grip of a tempest. The object attained or abandoned, the vane flickers round every point of the compass, till it is once more steadied by another gale in a new direction.

Byron knew his weakness perfectly. His consciousness of it shows itself, as has been already indicated, in the loud note of his letters. It shows itself more directly in his real anxiety to find some one stronger than himself on whom he could be dependent. His inborn weakness of will was the more fatal because in his early youth no influence intervened to balance his character or harden his moral fibre. He had no home life. His childhood knew no consistent tenderness or steady rule. His mother was a coarse-grained woman of violent temper. There is nothing a sensitive boy hates more fiercely, or recollects more vividly, than scenes; and, in her public demonstrations of affection or her fits of ungovernable rage, she made scenes perpetually. He loved her after a fashion. But he could not respect her, and she never had over him any moral hold. She, or some one else, did indeed succeed in implanting in

Digitized by Google

him a certain sense of religion. The impression was lasting. He was never an irreligious man. It was his misfortune, as his wife observed, that he not only believed, but believed too much. His creed was the narrowest Calvinism. The grim doctrine of predestination helped to destroy whatever sense of personal responsibility he possessed. He might have gained some strength of character in the rough and tumble of schoolboy life. But he was a cripple. Acutely sensitive to his physical deformity, he writhes under the torment, mutters at his lame foot, and snarls at sympathy. There is a world of suppressed suffering in his question to Lady Melbourne whether Miss Milbanke waltzes, and in his compact with Lady Caroline Lamb that she should not dance. His drama of 'The Deformed Transformed' is inspired by his mother's taunt of lameness in his early childhood. Even his boast of swimming exploits, of fencing at Angelo's, or of sparring matches with Gentleman Jackson, excite sympathy when it is remembered that these were triumphs over a physical infirmity. He made a gallant struggle. But his morbid consciousness of his lameness drove him back upon himself. It increased the constitutional shyness which tortured him in society and, even in the heyday of his popularity, held him glowering in a corner.

In his youth, none of his relations, with the exception of his half-sister, even tried to give him a helping hand. No doubt he was a difficult young man to befriend. He was inordinately proud, and his early acquaintance with poverty had made him resentful of the slightest semblance of patronage. Whatever the justification they may have had, his relations, as a fact, left him severely alone. None of his friends gained over him any moral ascendency. With the solitary exception of Shelley, who came late into his life, they were his intellectual or his social inferiors. As his fortunes improved, his generosity made many of them dependent upon him for pecuniary obligations. Neither he nor they could find in the tone of society or of public opinion either restraining influences or profitable examples. The Regency was one of the most vicious ages in our history. It was a dangerous atmosphere for any young man who was without moral strength of character or sense of personal responsibility,

Digitized by Google

and was relieved by fortune from the necessity of action or the pursuit of any definite purpose in life. A colder, poorer, or narrower nature might have survived the trial. With Byron's warm, emotional, sensuous temperament, the absence of any restraining influence placed him in more deadly peril. During the earliest years of his adult life the consequences were not serious. He followed the fashion of the day. Among his youthful companions he lived the loose, racketing existence of a young blood which society sanctioned under the Regency. But he was not a gambler. Neither was he a drunkard. His occasional bouts in convivial or 'villainous' company were followed by weeks of the strictest abstinence. Habitually, he was more nearly a moderate abstainer than a hard drinker. In this respect at any rate he rose above the average standard of his contemporaries. There was always also, in the background, that other side of his life, his literary work. In the summer of 1811, he had returned to England, after a two years' absence in Eastern Europe. He had grasped with both hands and boyish eagerness all the pleasures which his intense vitality enabled him to enjoy. He describes even the most trivial or unworthy with a zest and vivacity which might well suggest that their pursuit had absorbed all his energies. Yet he brought back with him the manuscript of a poem which, though unfinished and immature, was yet a work of genius. Its publication put him to a test which proved fatal.

The tragedy of Byron's life is crowded into the four years after his return from the Continent; and it is on this period alone that the new letters throw fresh light. In March 1812, he was the idol of society; in April 1816, he left England a social outcast. The drama is staged in an effective framework. Underlying every scene there is the contrast, not the less striking because it passes unnoticed, between the gay masquerade of life and its grim realities. On the one side is the brilliant throng of fashion, absorbed in their entertainments and their intrigues, amorous or political. On the other is the country, festering in the misery and starvation of a prolonged and exhausting war. The first scene opens quietly enough. For a few months Byron lived in

Digitized by Google

London among men of letters like Rogers, Moore, Campbell, and others, to whose acquaintance his 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' now in its fourth edition, was a passport. He spoke in the House of Lords. But there is no sign that he set his foot within the exclusive circle of the fashionable world. On March 1, 1812, the scene changed with dramatic suddenness. 'Childe Harold' was published. It made Byron famous to an extent which, at the present day, is almost inconceivable. No English poet, before or since, ever took the world so potently by storm. His name was on every lip in the literary circles of the Capitals of Europe, the United States, and the East Indies. In the midst of a naval and military struggle for national existence, he disputed the popularity of admirals and generals. 'The subject of conversation, of curiosity, of enthusiasm, almost one may say,' wrote the Duchess of Devonshire, 'is not Spain or Portugal, not warriors or patriots, but Lord Byron.' In London he was suffocated with attentions, especially from women. Such adulation might well have turned any man's head, whatever his age and however strong his character. And Byron, it must never be forgotten, was little more than a boy, socially inexperienced, and morally weak as ditch-water. Most enthusiastic among his admirers was Lady Caroline Lamb, the wife of William Lamb, daughter of Lady Bessborough, granddaughter of Lady Spencer (Walpole's 'Goddess of Wisdom'), niece of the Duchess of Devonshire (his 'Empress of Fashion'), and daughter-in-law of Lady Melbourne. With her romantic, imaginative, impulsive nature, Lady Caroline Lamb idealised Byron. The fascination was mutual. They fell in love with one another.

The story has been hitherto treated as a passing episode in the four years which Byron spent in London. It can no longer be so summarily dismissed. The chief novelty in the first volume of the letters is the revelation of its extent and lasting importance throughout this period of his life-history and afterwards. Lady Caroline may well dispute the title of his 'moral Clytemnestra.' Her influence, direct or indirect, colours every stage of this part of his career. Through her he made the acquaintance of Lady Melbourne, Miss Milbanke, and

Digitized by Google

probably Lady Oxford. To break off her attachment to Byron, as well as to save her son's domestic happiness, Lady Melbourne made, on Byron's behalf, the first proposal of marriage to Miss Milbanke. After the breach between Lady Caroline and him, the embittered tongue of the woman scorned contributed very materially to his social ruin. As she represented the case, it predisposed the public to imagine the worst of the callous libertine who had betrayed the affections of an ingenuous girl, wrecked her domestic happiness with the husband whom she loved, cast her off when he wearied of her devotion, and dismissed her with a heartless letter dictated by her successful rival and supplanter. It prepared them to believe, as many did believe, that he was the real actor in the gloomy horrors of his Turkish tales, which they devoured with such eagerness and regarded as the most characteristic products of his poetic genius. It helped to swell the proportions and darken the outline of the Satanic myth of Byron's character. Wherever he went, whether in Herefordshire or Nottinghamshire, he found himself preceded by her highly-coloured version of the story. Without in the least exonerating Byron from blame, his side of the story should be given. It is told with tiresome fullness in the letters to Lady Melbourne. They reveal the state of nervous irritation to which he was exasperated by Lady Caroline's caprices, his insecurity against fresh outbreaks on her part which would make him either odious or contemptible, his sense of being watched and spied upon, his knowledge of the mischief of her romantic version of the story, and of her reckless use of his most intimate letters to blacken his character with friends, acquaintances, and the public. To a young man, shy, sensitive, and proud, it was an intolerable persecution, against which, in honour bound, he could not retaliate. And it lasted up to his marriage —and beyond.

Lady Caroline Lamb was born in 1785. Her childhood was, to a remarkable degree, sheltered and guarded. To the public she posed as a neglected child. The point is not unimportant, for it bears on her untrustworthiness as a witness. She stated—and the statement has been often repeated, and is embodied in a well-known novel—that, from the age of three to that of nine, she was

Digitized by Google

brought up in Italy mainly in the care of a servant. That this is inaccurate is proved by a number of family letters. During the years November 1791 to June 1794, her mother was obliged to live abroad for her health. The child, instead of being left in England in the care of relatives, was brought out to Paris by Lady Elizabeth Foster, to join her mother. With her mother, or with her grandmother, Lady Spencer, who was one of the party, Caroline Ponsonby lived. She returned home with them in 1794. Her health, character, and education were most carefully watched. Her want of self-command, fits of ungovernable temper, fidgets and flurries, received constant attention. She grew up under the same watchful supervision. She not only rode well, but studied French, Italian, and German, drew, painted in water-colours, wrote verses and romantic tales. Her peculiar charm was that which is suggested by her nicknames, 'Squirrel,' 'Ariel,' 'Spirito,' 'Young Savage'; and the fascination was enhanced by her slight figure, golden hair, large hazel eyes, beautiful teeth, and caressing musical voice. In one of his letters to her Byron paints the best of her portraits:

'the cleverest, most agreeable, absurd, amiable, perplexing, dangerous, fascinating little thing that lives now, or ought to have lived two thousand years before. I won't talk to you of beauty; I am no judge. But our beauties cease to be so when near you, and therefore you have some or something better.'

From one of Lady Spencer's letters it would seem that Lady Caroline was in love with William Lamb from the time she was sixteen. She married him in 1805. They had one son. Even after her marriage her family were anxious for the future. Lady Spencer dreads the consequences of her 'inordinate vanity,' fidgets over her 'eccentricities,' is vexed at her impropriety in jumping 'over a couch at some Assembly'—whether in the green pantaloons of which Byron disapproved is not stated—deplores her attachment to Lady Oxford, and hopes that she will not 'attempt to be her knight-errant and defend her.' Other escapades were more serious. In 1811 her flirtation with Sir Godfrey Webster, the former husband of Lady Holland, had become a social scandal. Lady

Digitized by Google

Melbourne, whose indiscretions had been more discreet, took her severely to task, and swept aside her 'cajoleries and flatteries' with a coldly contemptuous letter. One further extract is too significant to be omitted.

'How is dear Caroline going on?' asks Lady Spencer (June 19, 1812). 'She has so accustomed herself to represent things her own way that I can never depend upon what she says of the opinions of those with whom she lives.'

In March 1812 the Lambs were living, as they had done since their marriage, on the first floor of Melbourne House, the ground floor being occupied by Lord and Lady Melbourne. Each household was independent of the other; they had their separate friends, their own entertainments. When Lady Caroline first met Byron, she was in age three years older than he was; she had been married more than six years; she had lived, ever since she came out, in the centre of the most fashionable society. She was as well versed in the ways of the world as he was raw and inexperienced. 'She was,' as Lady Melbourne says, in advising Byron not to blame himself too much for what had passed, 'no novice, and cannot be look'd on as the Victim of a designing Man.' At their first meeting Lady Caroline says that she refused an introduction, and entered in her diary, 'mad, bad and dangerous to know.' As to the first statement, and as to the contemporaneous entry in the diary, scepticism is permissible. Be that as it may, the acquaintance, once begun, rapidly ripened into the warmest friendship. It went to lengths which became a public scandal. It came to the notice of the Prince Regent, who said that Byron had bewitched the whole family, 'mothers and daughters and all.' Her father-in-law remonstrated with Lady Caroline. She left the house. No one knew where she had gone. It was suspected that she had fled to Byron's rooms. She had not done so. But Byron found out where she was, saw her, and induced her to return home. It mortified Lady Bessborough, as she herself admitted, to confess that it was Byron's appeal which carried the day. He promised that he would do his utmost to break the tie. To remove Lady Caroline from temptation, the whole family, in August 1812, left London for Ireland. Lady Spencer,

Digitized by Google

writing of her granddaughter a few days before her departure, hopes 'all will be well. Her uncertainty and irritability of Mind are indeed most melancholy; but she loves her husband, and, as yet, he loves her. Is there no possibility of making her see what she risques in breaking such a Bond?'

At this point, September 1812, begin the newly published letters of Byron to Lady Melbourne. Lady Melbourne was then sixty-two. In spite of the heavy handicap of a dull husband, she had for many years maintained a great social and political position among the leaders of fashion. If her beauty no longer fascinated, she still retained the charm which women who have been beautiful never lose. Wise with the wisdom of a clear head, sound sense, and experience, tactful from breadth of sympathy, witty and well read, she possessed an inexhaustible fund of good spirits. She was a smiling philosopher, with 'mischievous eyes' and a 'wicked laugh.' She drew Byron out, heard his confessions, responded to his frivolities, and, when asked, gave him the shrewdest of worldly advice. On the career of her son, William Lamb, all her ambitions were now centred. She had welcomed his marriage because it linked him with the great Whig families. But she despised Lady Caroline's vagaries for the vulgar publicity which they courted. She detested them because they prejudiced her son's position. He was in love with his wife, whose irresponsibilities distracted his political aims and disinclined him from exertion. One solution might be to allow Lady Caroline to compromise herself fatally with Byron. But against it were the shock to William Lamb's real affection for his wife, and the possible forfeiture of the political support of her powerful relations. The alternative was to break off the connexion between Byron and Lady Caroline.

On this point Lady Melbourne concentrated herself. For her the first step was easy. She gained an ascendency over Byron which no one else ever succeeded in obtaining. His letters to her are, as it were, love-letters inspired by his ideal of what she was forty years ago. In her he found the woman who could not only have made him love her, but could have kept him in love

Digitized by Google

with her, who could have governed him, and supplied the backbone in which he knew he was deficient. 'If she had been a few years younger,' says Byron, 'what a fool she would have made of me, had she thought it worth her while!' It would be a profitless speculation to conjecture what else she might have made of him, if she could have fired him to action. Lady Melbourne detected the quality of his letters—and the difference. Admiration, she reminds him, is not love; a woman loved is not admired. On her side, she found him a fascinating companion when he was in the mood. In his sulks or ill-temper she let him alone. 'You know,' she says, 'I agree with you when you say you are a very good-natured person. Everybody will find you so if they abstain from plaguing you when you are not in *good spirits* (we'll give it that name); and if they do, they deserve to meet with rebuffs.' In the matter of Lady Caroline he was behaving well. Lady Melbourne repaid his youthful worship by helping him to free himself from his entanglement. She was at the same time protecting her son from social damage. Principles were not her strong point; her methods were those of worldly wisdom and experience. Married or single, Byron must be found, or encouraged to find, a new object of passion.

Byron knew that he had compromised Lady Caroline in the eyes of the world. He had promised her relatives not to carry the affair further. To that promise he loyally adhered. But he had his own point of honour. If he would not advance, neither would he recede. The offer of release must come from her. If she was mad enough to take the irrevocable step of leaving her husband, he was ready to make every reparation in his power. He adopted the same attitude, a few months later, towards Lady Frances Wedderburn Webster. It may be thought that the protestation is theatrical. 'Once a *poseur* always a *poseur*' may be a good working maxim in estimating character. On the other hand, in the case of Countess Guiccioli, he acted up to the profession long after the attachment had ceased to be a romantic passion, and at some cost to himself. He only severed the connexion when her material interests and those of her family made it overwhelmingly desirable. He was not put to the test by Lady Caroline. More

Digitized by Google

resolute or harder-natured men would have cut the knot decisively and at once. It was the wisest course and the one advised by Lady Melbourne. Byron was weaker but more chivalrous. Recognising Lady Caroline's claim upon him, he would not make her feel the degradation of declaring his indifference.

On these terms he was at a disadvantage in correspondence. She showed no sign of offering him his release. On the contrary, she asked him whether he could live without her. In his 'diabolical dilemma' he could see only two remedies. One was flight from the country, the other an immediate marriage. Out comes the amazing secret. The woman to whom Byron is really attached, he tells Lady Melbourne, is her niece, Miss Milbanke. Her main attraction for him was her high character. 'I never saw a woman whom I *esteemed* so much.' 'Whomever I *may* marry, that is the woman I should wish to *have married*.' In October, Lady Melbourne, on his behalf, proposed to her niece; Miss Milbanke refused, but hoped that they would continue friends. For months they interchanged letters. When, in September 1814, Byron proposed again—this time in his own hand, but still by letter—he was accepted. Byron heard from Lady Melbourne of the refusal. At once his thoughts turn to using the affair as a means of freeing himself from Lady Caroline. His offer of marriage to another woman might convince her of his indifference. His rejection might reduce her estimation of him as an 'article of value.' Lady Melbourne took another view. 'Not a word to Caroline.' He obeyed. Lady Melbourne probably feared that her daughter-in-law might regain her power in the rôle of consoler to a man whose vanity had been more hurt than he knew. Evidently, also, she doubted the strength of Byron's good resolution. In Lady Caroline's absence he might be stout, and yet pliable as wax in her presence. She wanted him settled, and appears to have suggested that he should seek consolation with Lady Oxford. A fortnight after his rejection, he was installed in Lady Oxford's house at Eywood, a new Rinaldo in the 'bowers of Armida.' In her care he remained till she left England in July 1813.

From Eywood Byron wrote to Lady Caroline that he

Digitized by Google

was 'attached to another.' Her replies poured in, some addressed to him, some to Lady Oxford—now 'wild headstrong and vainly threatening herself, etc., etc.,' now full of reproaches, now propounding a 'number of unanswerable questions' to Lady Oxford, now demanding an interview, now 'threatening to visit Eywood in all her terrors' or to write to Lord Oxford. Now she adopted a bullying tone, 'learned in Ireland.' 'She will not,' Byron tells Lady Melbourne, 'give up my letters. I *will* deliver up hers nevertheless, and mine she may make the most of —the Editor of any Magazine will treat with her for them on moderate terms.' She burned him in effigy at Brocket for the amusement of local newspapers. She scratched herself with a knife at some social entertainment because he spoke of her coldly. She made a scene at a masquerade. She forged a letter from him to Mr Murray and obtained possession of his picture. She sent out her pages with a travesty of his family motto on their livery buttons. She tried to make mischief between him and Lady Melbourne, or between him and Lord Clare, Moore, and Hobhouse. She read a private letter from him to Lady Melbourne, to the latter's great disgust and annoyance. She tampered—so he suspected —with his servants, in order to obtain information as to his movements. Disguised as a page, she obtained admission to his rooms, and ransacked his papers. She told her story here, there, and everywhere.

Her ubiquitous persistence told on Byron's nerves. There is comic exasperation in such expressions as 'Good God! am I to be hunted from place to place like a Russian bear or Emperor?' or 'I am sure since the days of the Dove in the Ark, no animal has had such a time of it as I—no rest anywhere.' But there is deadly earnest in the letter of June 26, 1814:

'She may hunt me down—it is the power of any mad or bad woman to do so by any man—but *snare* me she shall not; torment me she may; how am I to bar myself from her! I am already almost a prisoner: she has no shame, no feeling, no one estimable quality. . . . If there is one human being whom I do utterly detest and abhor, it is she; and, all things considered, I feel to myself justified in so doing. She has been an adder in my path ever since my return to this country; she has often belied and sometimes betrayed me;

Digitized by Google

she has crossed me everywhere, and worried and grieved and been a curse to me and mine. You may show *her* this if you please—or to any one you please: if these were the last words I were to write upon earth, I would not revoke one letter except to make it more legible.'

Never did two lovers torture one another more cruelly. Byron was still faced by the alternative of flight or marriage. He again chose the latter.

In the case of Lady Caroline, Byron establishes some claim to sympathy and on one point to approval. Lady Melbourne and he were working together; and it was, therefore, natural that he should keep her informed of the doings of her daughter-in-law. But his circumstantial account of his affair with Lady Frances Wedderburn Webster stands on a different footing. That he should have told the story at all was bad taste; that he should have told it for the amusement of Lady Melbourne leaves an unpleasant impression of both of them. His enclosure of one of the letters received from Lady Frances is an unpardonable betrayal. The story gives minute details in a number of letters which are among the wittiest and most spirited in the new collection. Its morality has only one redeeming feature. Byron shrank from taking advantage of what he believed to be his opportunity. The self-restraint is to his credit. Lady Melbourne seems to have suspected that the affections of Lady Frances were not seriously engaged. That the young woman was amusing herself at Byron's expense is possible, and, unless her character developed with extreme rapidity, not improbable. Eighteen months later, Lady Caroline Lamb met her at Brussels, immediately after the Battle of Waterloo. Lady Caroline, writing of her to Lady Melbourne, reports that the Duke of Wellington fell so 'desperately in love with her and two others' that 'he did not reach the battle in time. . . . She is most affected. Perhaps a certain rivalship makes me see her less favourably: but indeed Lady F. Webster is too ridiculous.' Lady Melbourne seems to have told Lady Caroline the story in order to cure her of her infatuation. Did she drop other hints with the same object to her daughter-in-law?

In April 1816, society proclaimed Byron an outcast. His departure from England was the execution of a

Digitized by Google

previously arranged plan of an extended tour on the Continent. That he never returned was the result of subsequent circumstances. His apparent flight, combined with his acceptance of the separation, confirmed whatever scandals were afloat. In his own interest and that of others he would have been wiser to 'face the music.' He himself stated, and, so far as is known, the statement has never been disputed, that he only agreed to the separation because his wife appealed to his previous promise that, if she wanted it, he would not oppose her wish. The mischief was aggravated by his joining Shelley in Switzerland. In the days of the Regency, his association with that delicate high-souled nature was regarded as the lowest depth of his moral downfall. It is a striking commentary on the fallacies of contemporary judgments.

It is a relief, in the second volume, to return to the society of Byron's men-friends in the familiar world of the previously published correspondence. There are fresh details, but no novelties except the very valuable series of Shelley's letters—serious, earnest, and slightly formal. Once more the reiterated demands for 'Calcined Magnesia' and '*tooth-powder*,' '*red only*,' strike us between the shoulders like a southern sun or a boisterous friend. The new letters maintain the previous impression of mental power. They are distinguished by the same qualities of vitality, vivacity, and versatility. They are full of shrewd comments—often witty, sometimes penetrating—on men, affairs, and literature, of apt quotations, of humorous incidents humorously described, of boyish outbursts of almost buffooning fun. At one moment he endures criticism with good-humoured patience; in the next he explodes with comic rage at 'that rugged rhinoceros Murray,' or at the 'eternal dawdling' of his man of parchments, and wishes that his friends were 'all damned from Pylades to the present day.' Few of his friends' letters are extant. From his own it might be inferred that, with the glorious exception of Shelley, they were more lavish of criticism than of praise. If so, it is permissible to regret the tone. The bad opinions that were entertained of him by the public stimulated him to their justification

Digitized by Google

rather than to their reversal. 'Baby Byron,' as his sister called him, never outgrew many of the childlike qualities which great poets are sometimes privileged to preserve. And he was a hurt child, wounded in his affections, his pride, his vanities. Two new letters from Hobhouse, printed in the second volume, are, from this point of view, peculiarly pathetic. They came too late. Byron was dead. He was denied the pleasure of knowing how dear he was to his friends in England, how many they were, and with what pride and hope they were watching his career in Greece.

A fortnight after his arrival in Venice, Byron writes to Kinnaird (Nov. 27, 1816), 'I have fallen in love, and with a very pretty woman.' The Segati household was extraordinary enough. The interior of his own insanitary malaria-haunted palace is even stranger and more debased. Rival mistresses quarrel with Italian volubility and violence. Fletcher, 'the man of learning,' with his 'foolish face,' stands helpless. The monkeys chatter. 'Matz,' patient with age, sits with a biscuit on his nose. The two younger mastiffs gambol round the little Allegra. The master makes love in the *salon*, the Swiss valet from the hall window. It was an orgy of bitterness and despair, which nearly destroyed him physically. He was saved by the visits of his friends, by his daily rides on the Lido, and, above all, by his literary work. If he was, as he says, 'dissolute by night,' he was also 'studious by day.' Never was the duality of his personality more strikingly displayed. During these three degraded years, on which he looked back with loathing, he completed or produced the third and fourth Cantos of 'Childe Harold,' 'Manfred,' 'Mazeppa,' the 'Lament of Tasso,' 'Beppo,' the two first Cantos of 'Don Juan.' At the time, he did more than any other writer of his age to interpret to his fellow-countrymen the scenery, art, and letters of the Continent, and in turn, exile though he was, to impress Europe through his writings with the existence of an English literature. His poetry does not attempt to soar into the higher world of the prophet or the moralist. But, in compass and in variety of style, the achievement is remarkable. At no other period of his career is it more necessary to bring this parallel revelation of himself into the account in any final estimate of

Digitized by Google

his complex character. Callous he was not. Without reading into his poetry any facts of his life, there is no more impassioned expression of the feeling of remorse than is to be found in 'Manfred.' It is a personal cry wrung from the depths.

The later years in Italy were regulated by the influence of the Countess Guiccioli. Their story is too familiar to be retold. The new letters confirm or settle some minor points of controversy in Byron's favour. He was, for instance, neither niggardly to Shelley nor unkind to his widow. On the contrary, he lent his brother-poet money, refused his legacy, and treated Mary Shelley with a kindness for which she repeatedly expressed her gratitude. The very serious charge of suppressing the letter which Mary Shelley entrusted to him to forward to Hoppner, is found to be incapable of proof. That he behaved harshly to Clare Clairmont appears to be true. But nothing is known of his reasons for refusing to see or write to her. It is the brutality of his expressions rather than his conduct that Shelley condemns. Both he and his wife approved of his insisting on the custody of the child. 'I feel,' writes Shelley, 'more and more strongly the wisdom of your firmness on the subject. . . . Allegra's happiness depends upon your perseverance.' The child's death was a blow which he felt acutely. He never could bear to mention her name.

In the spring of 1823, Byron was settled at the Casa Salucci near Genoa in the company of the Countess Guiccioli, her father Count Gamba, and his family. The association had lasted four years. The tie may have been no longer cherished. It may have been worn as a fetter. Its duration may have depended more on circumstances than on affection. For Byron's sake, Teresa Guiccioli had fled from her husband's house. Partly on account of the association with Byron, Count Gamba had been exiled from Ravenna, and he and his son had been expelled from Tuscan territory. So long as these circumstances lasted, honour forbade him to seek freedom. Suddenly a change came. By the intervention of the Pope, Count Gamba was recalled from exile on the condition that he brought his daughter home with him. Her husband was willing to take her

Digitized by Google

back, or, if she wished, to provide separate maintenance. But she must give up Byron. Every argument of worldly interest enforced the proposal. The Countess reluctantly consented. Byron was free. She and her father had gone, when Byron went on board the collier-brig 'Hercules' (July 13, 1823) bound for Leghorn on his way to Greece. A contrary wind detained the ship in harbour. Byron came ashore and wandered through the deserted house and empty rooms—alone with his thoughts.

The next day he sailed. To him and his friends the cause of Greece was the cause of liberty and of humanity. He had an ideal and lived up to it in action. He shouldered responsibility, showed sound sense, firmness, perseverance, and courage. When he died at Messalonghi, his last messages, which might have explained much and modified many judgments, were unintelligible.

The theme is well-worn. It is impossible to write on it with freshness, still more with authority. Each individual will form his own picture of the man. Inevitably, the opinions of contemporaries, however brief and partial their acquaintance, influence our judgments. Impressions formed a century later are comparatively valueless. Knowing this, I hesitate to state any personal experiences. I only do so in the hope that, here and there, others will give Byron a fairer hearing. For several years my leisure was spent in the society of Byron and his friends. I started with a strong aversion, which was again and again deepened by some display of the baser qualities of his nature. But, in the end, the conviction grew that he was not only a greater but a better and more lovable man than he allowed himself to appear. That impression is confirmed by the letters from Shelley, the one man who was his intellectual equal, the one man with whom, in spite of his habitual incontinence of speech, he talked without restraint, the man who was, as he himself said, 'the best and least selfish man I ever knew; I never knew one who was not a beast in comparison.'

ERNLE.

Digitized by Google

DR XXXIV

INDEX

TO THE

TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVENTH VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

[*Titles of Articles are printed in heavier type. The names of authors of*

The Index to Volume 237 will be published with the July number.

Adowa, Victory of, 38, 43.

Agricultural Policy Committee, members, 323—Report, 323–325, 328–330.

Agriculture, The Position and Prospects of, 313–332.

Agriculture Act, 1920...315–317.

Air Ministry, 130.

Alexandria, result of bombardment, 372.

Allenby, Viscount, Commander-in-Chief in Egypt, 417—High Commissioner, 422, 427—concessions, 423.

Alpine Club, Presidential address, 403.

Alverstone, Richard, Lord, 58. *See* Webster.

American Army Transport, 369—Bar Association, annual address, 406.

'American Commonwealth, The,' 405, 407.

B.

Bagehot, Walter, on the office of Prime Minister, 378.

Bahrdt, K. F., founder of 'The German Union,' 93.

Balkan States, relations with Russia, 162—formation of the League, 164.

Banville, Théodore de, 'Petit Traité de la Poésie Française,' 63.

Barruel, M., 'Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme,' 87, 95.

Bataille, Henry, character of his poems, 346.

Beaconsfield, Earl, criticism on, 232—on the suffrage question, 388—opportunism, *ib.*—Reform Act of 1867...389—at the Berlin Congress, 395—relations with Lord Salisbury, 398.

Becque, Henry, 'Corbeaux' and 'La Parisienne,' 337.

Digitized by Google

Benckendorff, Count, correspondence with M. Sazonoff, 157—on the policy of England, 159, 160.

Berlin, Treaty of, 392, 396.

Bernstein, Henry, character of his dramas, 347.

'Birth of Merlin,' authorship of the play, 14.

Bismarck, The Resignation of, 256–274.

Bismarck, Prince, 'Reminiscences,' 398.

Björkoe, Treaty of, 1905...273.

Boetticher, von, Memoirs of, 257.

Boghitschewitsch, Dr M., 'Kriegsursachen,' 166 *note*.

Bonomi, Signor, Prime Minister, 152.

Bordeaux, Henry, 'La Vie au Théâtre,' 352.

Bornier, Henri de, 'Fille de Roland,' 340.

Brieux, Eugène, morality-plays, 344.

Brooke, C. F. Tucker, 'The Shakespeare Apocrypha,' 11.

Brunswick, Duke of, unpopularity, 115.

Brussels Sugar Convention, 192.

Bryce, James, 400–414.

Buchan, John, 'David Henderson,' 126.

Buckle, G. E., 'Life of Lord Beaconsfield,' 383, 397.

Bugeja, Vincent, 'Fascism and its Political Influences in Italy,' 134.

Bulgaria, policy of industrial conscription, 295.

Burns, Robert, essay on, 107.

Butairah river, 69, 76, 83.

Byron's Letters, 430–450.

C.

Campbell-Bannerman, Rt Hon. Sir Henry, leader of the Liberal Party, 228—Prime Minister, 229.

Canada, trade with the West Indies, 188, 195, 197–199.

Castex, Capt. R., 'Synthèse de la guerre sous-marine,' 366.

Cecil, Lady Gwendolen, 'The Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury,' 378–399—criticisms on, 384.

Central Europe, Monarchism in, 113–125.

Chambrun, Comtesse de, 'Giovanni Florio,' 2.

Charles, Emperor of Austria, attempt to return to Hungary, 125.

Chesney, Colonel, exploration of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, 71.

'Childe Harold,' 438.

'Christianity and Industrial Problems,' 284.

Churchill, Rt Hon. Winston, 'Life of Lord R. Churchill,' 383.

Cintra, Convention of, 249.

Clarendon Press, edition of Shakespeare, 5.

Claudel, Paul, 'Annonce faite à Marie,' 340.

Clubs and Coffee-houses of London, 18–22.

Cole, G. D. H., 'Self-Government in Industry,' 281.

Collins, Michael, character, 298.

Colvin, Ian, 'Hanseatic League,' 12.

Constantinople Conference, 391.

Copenhagen expedition of 1807...244—capitulation, 246.

Corbett, Sir Julian, 'Napoleon and the British Navy after Trafalgar,' 328—'Naval Operations,' 357 *et seq.*

Corn, average price, 314—Production Act, 1917...315, 323.

Craig, Sir James, correspondence with D. Lloyd George, 211.

Craven, Mrs, 'Récit d'une Sœur,' 382.

Creighton Memorial Lecture, 238.

Cromer, Earl, Financial Member of Council, 234—administration of Egypt, 415, 425.

Cruiser-raiders, case of, 185.

Culbertson, Mr, 'Commercial Policy in War-time and After,' 285.

Curel, François de, character of his plays, 344.

Digitized by Google

Custance, Adm. Sir B. N., opinion of Adm. von Tirpitz, 357—'The Whitehead Torpedo in War,' 366.

Cyprus Convention, 396.

D.

Dardanelles expedition, 370–377.

Davison, H. P., scheme for a League of Red Cross Societies, 132.

Delaisi, M., 'Le Petrole,' 285.

Demonology, Political, 85–100.

Derby, Lord, Foreign Secretary, 392—resignation, 393—recalled, *ib.*

Deschamps, M., 'Les Sociétés secrètes et la Société,' 87, 88.

Dewar, Capt. A. C., 'The Navy and the Washington Conference,' 177.

Dickinson, G. L., 'Revolution and Reaction in Modern France,' 90 *note.*

Dobson, Austin, 53–67.

Dogger Bank action, 363.

Donnay, Maurice, 'Amants,' 341—'La Douloureuse,' *ib.*

Doumic, René, 'De Scribe à Ibsen,' 352.

Dreadnoughts, number of, 355.

Drinkwater, John, 'William Ernest Henley,' 101.

Duellists, Club of, 21.

Dumas, Alexandre, dramatic instinct, 334.

E.

Eckhardstein, Baron von, Memoirs, 272, 397.

Egyptian Problem, The, 415–429.

Eppstein, Baron von, 'Fürst Bismarcks Entlassung,' 258.

Ernle, Lord, 'Byron's Letters,' 430

Esher, Viscount, 'Studley Royal,' 219.

'Essays and Addresses in War Time,' 412.

Euphrates river, 70, 75.

F.

Fabre, Emile, character of his plays, 346.

Farmers' Union, National, statement of policy, 318.

Farms, system of yearly tenancies, 328.

Fascism and its Political Influences in Italy, 134–154.

Fielding, Henry, essay on, 110.

Fisher, Admiral of the Fleet, Viscount, 'Memories,' 354—naval strategy, 356—'Records,' 356 *note.*

Fletcher, John, joint author of 'The Two Noble Kinsmen,' 8.

Flushing, fall of, 252.

Ford, Worthington Chauncey, 'The Adams Family,' 298.

France, military expedition against Fashoda, 40—submarine tonnage, 186 *note*—refusal to restrict, *ib.*

Frazer, Sir James G., 'London Life in the Time of Addison,' 18.

Freedom, ideal of Socialism, 279—definition, 287.

Freemasonry, Illuminised, 86.

French Drama of Manners, The, 323–353.

Froude, J. A., 'Life of Carlyle,' 381.

G.

Gayer, Capt. A., 'Submarines in War,' 366.

George, Rt Hon. D. Lloyd, proposals for an Irish settlement, 207—negotiations with Mr de Valera, 207–209.

Germany, restoration of the Monarchy, 117—responsibility for the war, 156—fleet, 161, 174, 178—history of the naval war, 357 *et seq.*

Giolitti, Signor, Prime Minister, 137—policy, 138—resignation, 151.

Gladstone, Rt Hon. W. E., retirement, 226, 227.

'Globe,' edition of Shakespeare, 5.

Gooderich, C. L., 'The Frontier of Control: a Study of British Workshop Politics,' 291.

Digitized by Google

Göppert, Prof., 'Attempts at Socialisation in Germany since the Revolution,' 276.

Gordon, General, secretary to Lord Ripon, resignation, 234.

Gosse, Edmund, 'Austin Dobson,' 53—member of the Pen and Pencil Club, 63—association with A. Dobson, 63–65.

Great Britain, position, 181—navy disarmaments proposal, 181–184—total tonnage to be scrapped, 182—strength of the fleet in 1924...183—submarine tonnage, 186 *note*—withdraws from the Brussels Sugar Convention, 192—trade with the West Indies, 197–199—mail service, 200—Articles of Agreement with Ireland, 214—number of acres under arable cultivation, 321—fruit and vegetables, *ib.*—returns of live stock, 322.

Grey, Sir Edward, foreign policy, 155 *et seq.*

Griffith, Arthur, character, 208.

Guiccioli, Countess, relations with Lord Byron, 449.

Guitry, Sacha, character of his plays, 348.

H.

Haines, C. R., 'Recent Shakespearean Research,' 1.

Halévy, J., character of his plays, 335.

Hall, Sir A. Daniel, 'Agriculture after the War,' 320.

Hamilton, General Sir Ian, 'Gallipoli Diary,' 370, 374–377.

Hammann, Otto, 'Der neue Kurs,' 257—'Der missverstandene Bismarck,' *ib.*

Hammar Lake, 70, 75.

Harcourt, Sir William, friendship with Lady Ripon, 222.

Hardinge, Sir Charles, on the interview at Reval, 161.

Hartington, Lord, tribute to Lord Ripon, 225.

Haymarket Theatre, 22–24.

Headlam-Morley, J. W., 'Russian Diplomacy before the War,' 155.

Heckethorn, 'History of Secret Societies,' 88.

Heligoland, captured, 247.

Henderson, Colonel, 'Science of War,' 240, 244.

Henderson, David, 126–133.

Henley, William Ernest, 101–112.

Hervieu, Paul, character of his novels, 342—dramas, 343.

Hesse, Grand Duke of, popularity, 115.

Historical Studies, Congress of, in London, 411.

'Holy Roman Empire,' 402, 405.

Howell, Evelyn, 'River Control in Mesopotamia,' 68.

Hungary, restoration of the Monarchy, 119, 123.

I.

'Illuminates,' secret sect founded, 85.

Industrial Co-operation Conference, New York, 293—conscription, 295.

Industry, The Problem of Modern, 275–297.

Ireland, 203–218.

Irish Free State, Oath of Allegiance, 214.

Isvolsky, report of the interview at Reval, 161.

Italy, Fascism and its Political Influences in, 134–154.

Italy, submarine tonnage, 186 *note.*

Italy, Treaty of Uccialli, 36—defeat at Adowa, 38.

J.

Jamaica, cotton trade, 196.

Jammes, Francis, 'La Brébis égarée,' 340.

Japan, total tonnage to be scrapped, 182—strength of the fleet in 1924...183—submarine tonnage, 186 *note.*

Jews, emancipation, 95—character, 96.

Jibuti railway, construction, 45.

Justice, ideal of Socialism, 279.

Digitized by Google

K.

Kent, Prof. Stanley, 'Journal of Industrial Hygiene,' 293.

King, Mrs Hamilton, 'Sermon in the Hospital,' 382.

Kit-Cat Club, 21.

L.

'Labour Party and the Countryside,' 318—on the evils of the agricultural system, 319.

Labourer, position, 330.

Lagarde, M., Governor of French Somaliland, mission, 39.

Lamb, Lady Caroline, relations with Lord Byron, 438, 441-444—childhood, 439—characteristics, 440—marriage, *ib.*—treatment of Byron, 445.

Land, Nationalisation of the, 319.

Landlord, function of the, 327.

Lane, Franklin K., foreword to 'The Strategy of Minerals,' 285.

Lavedan, Henri, character of his plays, 341.

Lecky, W. E. H., 'Democracy and Liberty,' 91.

Leghorn, Congress at, 142.

'Libel of English Policy,' 240.

Liechtenstein, Prince John II of, 113.

Locker, Frederick, 'London Lyrics,' 56.

Lockhart, J. G., 'Life of Scott,' 384.

London Life in the Time of Addison, 18–32.

Lorimer, J. G., report on the Tigris river, 71.

Lytton, Robert, 2nd Earl of, character of his administration of India, 234.

M.

Mackintosh, Major, report on the irrigation of Mesopotamia, 75.

Manners, The French Drama of, 333–353.

Martin, Percy F., 'Overseas Political Confederation,' 188.

Marx, K., views on Capitalism, 97.

Maxwell, Sir John, result of his withdrawal from Ireland, 206.

McAdoo, Mr, on the West Indian Islands, 192.

Meilhac, Henry, character of his plays, 335.

Melbourne, Lady, correspondence with Lord Byron, 432, 442—characteristics, 442.

'Merry Devil, The,' authorship of the play, 14.

Mesopotamia, River Control in, 68–84.

Miall, Bernard, 'New Chapters of Bismarck's Autobiography,' translated by, 256.

Michels, Prof. R., on the Italian metal factories, 276.

Milan, Socialist Party Congress at, 153.

Milbanke, Arabella, proposals of marriage from Lord Byron, 444.

Milner, Viscount, Mission to Egypt, 415, 417–421—Report, 419, 421.

'Mining Industry, Plan for Democratic Control of,' 282.

Mises, Prof. L., on Socialism, 277.

'Modern Democracies,' 407.

Molyneux, Thomas More, 'Conjunct Expeditions,' 370.

Monarchism in Central Europe, 113–125.

Monkhouse, William Cosmo, art-critic, 54.

'More, Sir Thomas,' authorship of the play, 10–12.

Morris, William, 'Defence of Guinevere,' 59.

Murray, John, 'The New Letters of Byron,' edited by, 430.

Myers, Prof., 'Mind and Work,' 293.

N.

Napoleon and the British Navy after Trafalgar, 238–255.

Digitized by Google

Naval War, 1914-15, The, 354-377.

Navy, The, and the Washington Conference, 177-187.

Navy, The British, and Napoleon, after Trafalgar, 238-255.

Nitti, Signor, Cabinets, 136, 137.

O.

October Club, 21.

Oldenburg, Duke of, unpopularity, 115.

Overseas Political Confederation, 188-202.

Owen, Robert, work on Factory laws, 91—co-operative societies, 92.

P.

Pen and Pencil Club, 63.

Peninsular War, 249.

'Pepys, Samuel, Diary,' 431.

Political Demonology, 85-100.

Political economy, meaning of the term, 278.

Pollock, Rt Hon. Sir Frederick, 'James Bryce,' 400.

Pope-Hennessy, Una, 'Political Demonology,' 85.

Problem of Modern Industry, 275-297.

Prothero, Rowland E., 'English Farming, Past and Present,' 330.

R.

Recent Shakespearean Research, II, 1-17.

Red Cross Societies, League of, 132.

Reform Act of 1866...387—of 1867... 389.

Reinsurance, Treaty of, 263, 272-274.

Rew, Sir R. Henry, 'The Position and Prospects of Agriculture,' 313.

Ripon, George, 1st Marquis of, 219-237.

Ripon, Henrietta, Lady, characteristics, 222—death, 230—correspondence, *ib.*

River Control in Mesopotamia, 68-84.

Robison, John, 'Proofs of a Conspiracy,' 87.

Rodd, Sir Rennell, mission to Menelik, 39.

Rosebery, Earl of, Prime Minister, 227.

Rostand, Edmond, 'Cyrano de Bergerac,' 340.

Rottenburg, Dr F. von, Secretary to Bismarck, 258.

Rowntree, B. Seebohm, 'The Human Factor in Business,' 291.

Royal Air Force, 131.

Royal Exchange, 31.

Royal Flying Corps, 129—administration, 130.

Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 200.

Royal Navy in 1914...355.

Ruskin, John, definition of economics, 286.

Russia, Treaty of Reinsurance with, 263, 272-274.

Russian Diplomacy before the War, 155-176.

S.

Saint Simon, Comte de, 'Le Nouveau Christianisme,' 92.

Salisbury, Georgina, Marchioness of, characteristics, 386.

Salisbury, The Life of Lord, 378-399.

San Stefano, Treaty, 394.

Sanders, Liman von, case, 171.

Sardou, V., character of his plays, 336.

Saunders, George, 'The Resignation of Bismarck,' 256.

Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Duke of, unpopularity, 115.

Sazonoff, M., correspondence with Count Benckendorff, 157—on the demands of Serbia, 165-167—policy, 168.

Scheer, Adm., 'Deutschlands Hochseeflotte im Weltkrieg,' 358.

Digitized by Google

School of Naval History, 238.

Schumpeter, Prof., on Socialism, 276.

Scott, Adm. Sir Percy, on the submarine menace, 368.

Scribe, E., comedy of intrigue, 334.

Selborne, Earl, Agricultural Policy Committee, 323, 328.

Serbia, aggressive policy, 163, 170—demand for a port on the Adriatic, 165–167.

Serrati, Menotti, editor of the 'Avanti,' 143.

Shakespearean Research, Recent, II, 1–17.

Shelley, P. B., style of his letters, 434—friendship with Byron, 449, 450.

Siebert, Herr von, 'Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Ententepolitik der Vorkriegsjahre,' 157.

Sign-boards of London, 27.

Sinn Fein, policy of intimidation, 210.

Smith, Garnet, 'The French Drama of Manners,' 333.

Snuff-taking, custom, 26.

Socialism, views on, 276–278—ideals of Justice and Freedom, 279.

Spender, J. A., 'The Egyptian Problem,' 415.

Stevenson, R. L., collaboration with W. E. Henley, 104.

Street-cries of London, two classes, 29.

'Studies in Contemporary Biography,' 410.

'Studies in History and Jurisprudence,' 405, 408.

Studley Royal, 219–237.

Submarine warfare, 364–369.

Submarines, case of, 185—proposals to restrict tonnage, 186.

Swinburne, Algernon, 'Poems and Ballads,' 107.

Sydenham, Lord, 'The Naval War, 1914–15' ... 354 — 'Fortifications, Past, Present, and Future,' 373.

T.

'Taking the Mystery out of Business,' address on, 293.

Tawney, R. H., 'The Acquisitive Society,' 284.

Team-work, development, 292.

Tennyson, Lord, on the authorship of 'Edward III,' 9.

Théâtre Libre, founded, 338.

Theatres of London, 22–25—actors, 24—audience, 25.

Tigris river, 68–70, 79—diagram showing reduction of, 81.

Tilsit, Treaty of, 245.

Tirpitz, Adm. von, 'My Memories,' 357—naval policy, 358.

Tripartite Treaty, 44, 47.

Trollope, Anthony, 'St Paul's Magazine,' 56—'Vignettes in Rhyme,' dedicated to, 61.

Turnor, Christopher, 'The Land and its Problems,' 320.

U.

Uccialli, Treaty of, 36.

Ulster, rejects an All-Ireland Parliament, 211, 213—ethical position, 211—records of disloyalty, 212.

Underhill, G. E., 'Abyssinia under Menelik and After,' 33.

United States, position, 181—navy disarmament proposals, 181–184—total tonnage to be scrapped, 182—strength of the fleet in 1924... 183—submarine tonnage, 186 *note*—proposed purchase of the West Indian Islands, 192–195—trade with, 197–199—mail service, 200.

'University and Historical Addresses,' 411.

V.

Valera, E. de, negotiations with D. Lloyd George, 207–209—parents, 207—career, 208—opinion of the Articles of Settlement, 218.

Versailles, Treaty of, 156.

Vyner, Clare, at Newby, 223.

Digitized by Google

W.

Walcheren, expedition against, 251.

Waldersee, Count, influence on William II, 262.

Wallas, Graham, 'Our Social Heritage,' 280—definition of Freedom, 287.

Walter, Major, report on the irrigation of Mesopotamia, 74.

War, The Naval, 1914-15...354-377.

War, Russian Diplomacy before the, 155-176.

Warships, losses of, 369.

Washington Conference and the Navy, 177-187.

Wealth, power of, 296.

Webster, Lady Frances W., relations with Lord Byron, 446.

Webster, Nesta H., 'World Revolution,' 85 *et seq.*—'The French Revolution,' 85, 90, 95.

Webster, Richard, relations with Austin Dobson, 58. *See* Alverstone.

Weishaupt, Adam, founder of the 'Illuminates,' 85, 87.

West Indies, commercial union with Canada, 188, 195—demands for reform, 191—export of sugar, 192—proposed sale, 192-195—trade with the United States, 197-199—with Canada and Great Britain, 197-199—mail service, 200.

Westminster Abbey, 32.

Wichtl, Dr, 'Weltfreimauerei: Weltrevolution: Weltrepublik,' 97-100.

Widows' Club, 21.

Willcocks, Sir William, 'Irrigation of Mesopotamia,' 73.

William II, ex-Emperor of Germany, abdication, 117—relations with Bismarck, 257-271—letter from, 261—scheme of Labour policy, 264-267—interview with Bismarck, 268, 270.

Williams, A., 'Life in a Railway Factory,' 291.

Wilson, Major, on the irrigation of Mesopotamia, 79.

Wilson, Pres., address to the officers of the Atlantic Fleet, 354.

Windthorst, L., interview with Bismarck, 269.

Wingate, Sir Reginald, High Commissioner of Egypt, 416.

Wolf, Lucien, 'Life of the 1st Marquis of Ripon,' 219.

Wolff, Henry W., 'The Future of our Agriculture,' 320.

Wood, Mr, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, mission to the West Indies, 191.

Workshop, self-governing, 290.

World History, lecture on, 412.

Y.

Yasu Lij, appointed Emperor of Abyssinia, 48—reverts to the Moslem faith, 49—defeated, 49, 50.

'Yorkshire Tragedy,' authorship of the play, 13.

Z.

Zauditu, Princess, proclaimed Empress of Abyssinia, 49.

Zimmern, A. E., 'The Problem of Modern Industry,' 275.

END OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVENTH VOLUME.

PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
LONDON AND BECCLES, ENGLAND.

Digitized by Google

New and Important Books

A HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE — **By Sir Banister Fletcher**

A history of architecture on the comparative method, for students, craftsmen and amateurs. The latest, most authoritative and most accessible history of architecture in all countries. This splendid new sixth edition has been entirely rewritten and enlarged, and includes about 3,500 Illustrations. It is the most richly illustrated history of architecture. A superb and magnificent history of the one form of art that touches every human being in a vital way. The author aims not only to give in clear and brief form the characteristic features of the architecture of each country, but also considers those influences which have contributed to the formation of each special style.

T. B. Batsford, Lt. (London)

MARGOT ASQUITH. AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

This sensational autobiography, which excited the widest interest on its original publication, has now been published in one volume, at a modest price. It is the frank, intimate, record of a remarkable woman, and easily the most sensational autobiography of the day. The present edition is wholly unabridged, and contains the full text of the original two-volume set. Twenty three illustrations.

Price, $4.00 net; carriage extra — George H. Doran Co.

THE NEXT WAR — **By Will Irwin**

The author undertakes to demonstrate by facts what "The Next War" would really mean to civilization and to the human race.

E. P. Dutton & Co.

BUGLE RHYMES FROM FRANCE — **By Paul Myron**

Poems inspired by the great war with Germany, with illustrations by Francois Olivier. The book also includes Mr. Myron's Ship Players' Comedy "The Side of France."

Mid-Nation Publishers

THE A. E. F.

HISTORY OF THE A. E. F. — **By Shipley Thomas**

The only complete history of the great work accomplished by the A. E. F. in France. Beginning with General Pershing's arrival in France, it gives a clear, vivid and consecutive picture of the landing, training, defense of "quiet sectors" and all the engagements of the A. E. F.; the relative importance of the battles; a summary of the actions of the Allied armies; and a description of the battlefields. The author also gives the history of the auxiliary arms; the Air Service, Heavy Artillery, Tank Corps, etc., and many other military topics directly related with the great American effort in France. The book also includes a complete guide to the battlefields, with a summary of the battles of the war on the Western Front. An extraordinarily able and authoritative book. With 129 detail maps, diagrams and illustrations.

Price, $7.00 net; carriage extra — **George H. Doran Co.**

VENIZELOS

VENIZELOS — **By Herbert Adams Gibbons**

A notable biographical study of the most notable living Greek. Dr. Gibbons, whose books upon European affairs have given him a leading position among American writers on European diplomacy, was in Paris throughout the German war. During the Peace Conference he was in very close touch with Mr. Venizelos and writes from the fullest possible knowledge. His book is a notable contribution to international biography and is as readable as it is important. World events of the utmost importance centre on the ancient land of Greece. The intimate knowledge of the man and the statesman as portrayed by Dr. Gibbons is essential to a correct understanding of events still in the process of making.

Price, $3.50 net; carriage extra — **Houghton Mifflin Co.**

Digitized by Google

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY
249 West 13th Street, New York

The Washington Conference

DISARMAMENT AS A PRACTICAL POLICY By J. Ellis Barker
—Fortnightly Review

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE:

(1) **The World's Desire for Peace**
By Lieut.-Colonel Gerald B. Hurst, K.C., M.P.
(2) **Australia's Position** By Prof. Meredith Atkinson
(3) **The Spirit of Russia** By C. Hagberg Wright
(4) **Service Experts at War Councils**
By Major-General Sir Charles E. Callwell, K.C.B.
—The Nineteenth Century and After

WASHINGTON:

(1) **By Viscount Bryce, O.M.**
(2) **By the Right Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M. P.**
(3) **Mr. Lansing and the League of Nations** By J. R. M. Butler
—The Contemporary Review

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE:

(1) **America and Her Place in the Sun** By James Davenport Whelpley
(2) **The Washington Conference and the Naval Issue**
By Archibald Hurd
(3) **The Rush for Siberia: Causes of the Present Crisis in the Pacific**
By Robert Wilton
(4) **Developments in the Far East** By Robert Machray
—Fortnightly Review

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES By Herbert W. Horwill
—The Contemporary Review

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE:

(1) **The Washington Conference** By J. St. Loe Strachey
(2) **The Purpose and Nature of a Fleet**
By Colonel J. F. C, Fuller, D.S.O. (G.S.O.I. of the Tank Corps Dec. 1916-Aug. 1918)
—The Nineteenth Century and After

THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS
By Major-General Sir F. Maurice, K.C.M.G.
—The Contemporary Review

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE:

(1) **America Looks at Europe** By Sisley Huddleston
(2) **Problems of the Pacific** By Frederic Coleman
—Fortnightly Review

Any one of the above groups, 75 cents

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING CO.
249 West 13th St., New York

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

This book should be returned to the Library on or before the last date stamped below.

A fine of five cents a day is incurred by retaining it beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

DUE MAY 31 1932

DUE MAY -7 '41

MAY 26 '41

Digitized by Google

3 2044 092 529 320

Digitized by Google